FBIS DAILY REPORT

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BCP DAILY ON BRITISH, FRENCH NUCLEAR FORCES

AU171245 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Nov 83 p 6

[Ruman Geschev article: "The Nuclear Forces of Great Briatin and France -- An Integral Part of the NATO Strike Force"]

[Text] The outcome of the Geneva talks on the limitation of the arms race is of crucial importance for the preservation of peace in Europe and in the world. The achievement of agreements in this field is likely to have a beneficial impact upon political and economic relations between East and West and it would to a great extent alleviate the danger of the eruption of a destructive thermonuclear conflict.

Despite the Soviet delegation's consistent and constructive stand, based on the principle of equality and equal security, no specific results have so far been achieved in Geneva. The main reason for this is contained in the attitude of the United States, which is trying to obtain unilateral military strategic advantages at the expense of the security of the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact member states.

In forging data about the real balance between the number of nuclear arms and their technical-tactical characteristics, the United Sstates and its allies from the NATO military aggressive bloc are deliberately trying to deceive the world public. The large-scale program for nuclear rearmament of NATO is described as a "necessary measure for the preservation of peace," or as "means of restraining the Soviet military threat."

President Reagan recently tried passionately from the UN rostrum to launch "the flexible approach" of the United States at the Geneva talks, presenting himself almost as a man who was "opening the door" to the signing of an agreement with the Soviet Union. He once again repeated the absurd demand that the British and French nuclear potential be excluded from the balance of nuclear forces in Europe.

The White House leaders are using the alleged "insignificance" and "independence from the NATO command structure" as basic justification for this statement. This American pseudoargument has become the slogan of reactionary bourgeois propaganda by trying to shift the burden of responsibility for the present state of negotiations onto the Soviet Union.

Actually, in this particular case we are confronted by considerable nuclear forces, which are directed against the socialist countries and represent an integral part of NATO's striking force.

Britain is armed with 64 Polaris-A-3 strategic missiles based on 4 nuclear submarines. The missiles have 3 nuclear warheads each, and each of these warheads in turn has a power of 200 kilotons. An American-British intergovernmental agreement signed in 1980 envisages the replacement of these missiles by the even more improved Trident system. These strategic nuclear missiles carry 10 individually targetable warheads. It is envisaged that the number of munitions be increased to 800 units. This stage of development in the militarist program of the Conservative government could cost British taxpayers $16.5 billion annually.

The "Antelope" program implemented in 1977 and aimed at the production of a qualitatively new nuclear warhead for cruise missiles, is forging ahead. Thus, the UK's "insignificant" nuclear potential now amounts to 192 nuclear warheads that are 3,000 times as powerful as the bomb dropped on Hiroshima by the United States. In addition to this we must take into account the 55 Vulcan bombers, which are nuclear carriers.

France's nuclear missile arsenals are close to the aforementioned indexes. The French forces have 18 ground-based missiles, and over 40 Mirage bombers which are nuclear carriers. The SSBS and the MSBS missile systems are constantly being developed and improved in regard to flight range, target accuracy, and increase in destructive force.

According to the plans adopted for nuclear rearmament by the end of the century both these countries will have 1,500-2,00 nuclear munitions capable of destroying dozens of large civilian and military targets in the socialist countries and of causing the death of millions of people. The statement about the alleged "independence" of the British and French nuclear forces is absolutely unjustified. Such a statement is in contradiction with the considerable role played by both countries in the military preparations of NATO

The nuclear rearmament of the UK is being carried out with the assistance and under the control of the United States. In an agreement signed by both countries' governments in 1962, in Nassau, it is expressly stressed that British nuclear missiles will be placed under NATO command. One of the clauses of this agreement states as follows: "...with the exception of a case in which Her Majesty's Government determines that supreme national interests are threatened, these forces are in all circumstances to be used for defense of the Western alliance."

It is appropriate to recall the fact that Britain was the first NATO member to agree to the deployment of 160 U.S. intermediate-range cruise missiles on its territory. It is absurb even to presume that in the event of a military conflict the nuclear missiles of the UK and those under U.S. control would be launched in different directions...

From the formal point of view the French nuclear forces have a certain, relative independence. This is determined by the fact that in 1966 France withdrew from the NATO military-strategic structure but remained a member of the bloc. This act contributed to untying the hands of the French Government for independent, neocolonialist actions in the developing countries, rather than representing a dissociation from the military-strategic goals of the remaining imperialist states. President Mitterrand openly declar declared that "France will not hesitate to complement U.S. nuclear arms with its own 'restraining weapons'". The French Government supports the concepts of the United States at the Geneva negotiations trying to obtain unlimited conditions for the increase of its nuclear power. In this respect the "independence of the French and British nuclear forces" can be mentioned only if there is a question of competition between the two countries in this sector. Independently of each other they are increasing and improving their respective nuclear potentials, which should guarantee their leading military-political role in the capitalist world and represents an important prerequisite in the struggle for superiority within NATO.

The far-sighted U.S. policy in the sphere of nuclear rearmament is increasingly lowering the threshold of nuclear danger. The gross contradiction between the noisy propaganda campaign and the deeds of the imperialist states lightheartedly keeps destroying the achievements obtained with so much effort at the conferences in Helsinki and Madrid. The address of the Soviet delegation to the 37th UN General Assembly pointed out as follows: "...It would be an exceptionally topical and realistic measure to freeze the nuclear armaments of all states possessing them." The draft resolution submitted by the USSR on "Freezing Nuclear Armaments" represents a brilliant new expression of that country's profoundly humanitarian and peace-loving policy.

The Soviet Union's legitimate demand that the British and French nuclear forces be considered as an inseparable link of NATO is based on objective arguments, founded on the principle of equality and equal security. The double-dealing stand of the United States at the Geneva negotiations used as a screen for concealing the implementation of its military-strategic plans is a dangerous game with fire, likely to produce irrevocable consequences for the future of mankind.

BTA DECLARATION ON TURKISH REPUBLIC IN CYPRUS

AU171955 Sofia BTA in English 1850 GMT 17 Nov 83

[Text] Sofia, November 17 /BTA/ -- The announcement of the proclamation of a "Northern Turkish Cypriot Republic" is received with surprise and great concern by the Government and the public of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. It is evident to everybody that on the background of today's exacerbated international situation this unilateral act is not in unison with the efforts for a peaceful and just settling of the Cyprus issue. Moreover, it does not correspond to the durable interests of the Cyprian people, to the interests of peace and security in the region, as well as to the resolutions of the Secruity Council and the UN General Assembly on the Cyprus issue.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria has always taken a stand for a peaceful, permanent and just settling of the Cyprus issue, one to ensure the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus, and respecting the rghts of both the Turkish and the Greek Cypriots. True to this consistent and principled stand of hers, Bulgaria finds the renouncing of any unilateral actions which would impede and delay that attaining of this goal extremely necessary. She is convinced that today the only right and reasonable way is to resume the talks in accordance with the initiative of the UN secretary general in order to find out a permanent settling of the problem, which would correspond both to the radical interests of the Greek and Turkish Cypriots and the cause of peace, security and understanding among the peoples in the region of the Balkans, the East Mediterranean and all over the world.

PRESS STATEMENT ON VISIT OF IRAQ'S RAMADAN

For the Baghdad Domestic Service report on the joint press statement on the visit of Taha Yasin Ramadan, first deputy prime minister, to Bulgaria 9-10 November, issued in Sofia on 10 November see the Iraq section of the 14 November Middle East & Africa DAILY REPORT.

SYRIAN DEFENSE MINISTER SIGNS DOCUMENTS, DEPARTS

AU101839 Sofia BTA in English 1749 GMT 10 Nov 83

[Text] Sofia, Nov 10 (BTA) -- A delegation of the Armed Forces of the Syrian Arab Republic, led by the deputy commander-in-chief of the Army and the Armed Forces and minister of the defence, General Mustafa Talas, paid a visit to Bulgaria. The delegation was received by Mr Todor Zhivkov, State Council president and secretary general of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party. The guests saw military, economic and historical states. After the talks with a delegation of the Bulgarian People's Army, led by the Bulgarian minister of national defence and member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Army General Dobri Dzhurov, documents were signed. Today the delegation left the country.

ROMANIA'S GIOSAN, CSSR'S INDRA COMPLETE VISITS

AU141219 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Nov 83 p 2

[Text] Noclae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Alois Indra, chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, departed from our country yesterday. They visited our country on the occasion of the consultative meeting of chairmen of parliaments from Warsaw Pact member-countries. The guests were seen off by Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly and by deputy chairmen of the National Assembly.

HONECKER CONDEMNS 'MURDER' OF CUBANS ON GRENADA

LD161503 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1219 GMT 16 Nov 83

[Text] Berlin, 16 Nov (ADN) -- The GDR most strongly condemns the insidious murder of Cuban citizens on Grenada. This is stressed in a telegram of sympathy from Erich Honecker to Fidel Castro. The U.S. invaders, with these murders, have once again blatantly violated the principles of international law and the UN Charter.

"We are convinced that these sacrifices by the Cuban people have not been in vain and that their legacy will help to strengthen the joint struggle of the peoples against imperialism and war," the message continues. The GDR stands in solidarity and close alliance by the side of Cuba, Nicaragua, and the people of Grenada.

FISCHER PRAISES SOVIETS, JOINT COMMISSION

AU171125 East Berlin NEUS DEUTSCHLAND in German 12/13 Nov 83 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- At a friendly meeting on the occasion of the 40th meeting of the Joint German-Soviet Commission on Friday afternoon Oskar Fishcer, GDR minister for foreign affairs, praised this body's work of more than 25 years.

The commission's many years of work has become for both sides both successful and useful. It is a vivid expression of the close militant alliance, the fraternal relations between our parties, states, and peoples which are continuously developing and deepening, Oskar Fischer stressed. The GDR regards it as a joint obligation to strengthen this alliance and to coordinate even more effectively the action of both states in the international arena. This is all the more important at a time when the peace-threatening policy of the United States and NATO must be resolutely opposed.

Vyacheslav Kochemasov, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the USSR to the GDR, praised the close fraternal alliance between the SED and the CPSU, between both states and peoples and thanked the commission for its work in cordial words.

The friendly meeting was attended by Army General Heinz Hoffmann, SED Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense; Colonel General Friedrich Dickel, minister of interior and head of the German People's Police; Mikhail Zaytsev, commander-in-chief of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany; and the members of the joint German-Soviet Commission; as well as other leading prominent figures.

VISUAL ARTISTS UNION HOLDS NINTH CONGRESS

SED Officials Attend

LD151208 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0917 GMT 15 Nov 83

[Text] Berlin 15 Nov (ADN) -- The ninth congress of the Union of Visual Artists opened on Tuesday morning in Berlin.

The over 400 delegates, as well as numerous guests, warmly welcomed in the Plenary Hall of the People's Chamber in the Palace of the Republic members and candidate members of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee Kurt Hager, Konrad Naumann, and Egon Krenz. They also welcomed members of the SED Central Committee Ursula Ragwitz, chief of the culture department of the Central Committee; and Dr Hans-Joachim Hoffmann, minister of culture; as well as other public figures, including representatives of the parties and mass organisations united in the National Front and artists' unions.

First secretary of the union Dr Horst Kolodziej, who opened the congress, welcomed, amid applause from the delegates and guests, delegations of artists from Bulgaria, the CSSR, the DPRK, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the USSR, and Hungary, as well as Algeria, Angola, the FRG, Chile, Denmark, Finland, Italy, Japan, Austria, Syria, the PLO, and West Berlin.

Honecker Greets Congress

LD151037 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0258 GMT 15 Nov 83

[Text] Berlin 15 Nov (ADN) -- Visual and applied art in the GDR has made good headway since the last congress of GDR visual artists. The creative commitment of the members and candidate mengbers of the union for the further shaping of developed socialist society in the GDR and for the safeguarding of peace found convincing expression in numerous artistic works, competitions, and exhibitions. This is stated in a message of greetings from the SED Central Committee to the 9th congress of the union of visual artists (15 to 17 November) in Berlin.

The message of greetings to the union members, signed by Erich Honecker, adds: You have convincingly demonstrated the effectiveness of socialist realism for artistic creation in numerous artistic achievements.

The SED supports and promotes all efforts by the union for the enrichment of our cultural and intellectual life, for the development of socialist national culture, the message stresses. We welcome your efforts to put more emphasis on understanding of the fundamental issues of our policy as well as discussion of the ideological, moral, philosophical and artistic merit of new achievements in visual and applied art.

In view of the threat to world peace through the imperialist policy of confrontation, in particular through the planned siting of new nuclear U.S. weapons in West Europe, the responsibility of visual artists is also increased, the message adds. The "peace to the world" competition is the union's pledge to protect peace with every available means and strengthen socialism with all one's strength. In this an even closer link between artistic creation and the ideals and values of socialist gains in increasing importance.

POSTAL SERVICE AGREEMENT WITH FRG CONCLUDED

AU171350 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Nov 83 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- On 15 November negotiations were conducted and an agreement signed between the GDR and the FRG in the capital of the GDR, Berlin, on lump payments for postal services for the period 1983-1990.

The delegations in the nogotiations were headed by Manfred Calov, state secretary in the GDR Ministry for Posts and Telecommunications, and Winfried Florian, state secretary in the FRG ministry for posts and telecommunications.

FURTHER BERLIN RAILROAD TALKS PLANNED FOR 23 NOV

LD161613 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1418 GMT 16 Nov 18

[Text] Berlin, 16 Nov (ADN) -- The current talks on settling the municipal railway question in Berlin (West) between the delegates from the GDR Transportation Ministry Head of Department Reichsbahn, senior director Dr Meissner, and from the Berlin (West) Senat, Senatsrat Hinkefuss, continued on 16 November 1983 in the GDR capital, Berlin. In the interests of finding an early solution to outstanding issues, it was planned to hold the next meeting on the 23 November 1983 in Berlin (West).

AUSTRIA'S SINOWATZ EXPLAINS VISIT TO HUNGARY

LD162042 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 16 Nov 83

[Text] Janos Kadar received Fred Sinowatz today. The first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee and the Austrian chancellor agreed that in the more tense political atmosphere, dialogue among countries with differing social systems has especially great significance. They expressed their intent to further strengthen the good-neighborly relations between Hungary and Austria. Premier Gyorgy Lazar and Heinz Fischer, Austrian minister of science and research, were present at the meeting. In the afternoon Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council, also received the Austrian chancellor.

In the morning Fred Sinowatz laid a wreath on the Hungarian heroes monument; then in Parliament House he conducted a discussion with Gyorgy Lazar. The favorable development of relations between the two countries in recent years, and the results of economic cooperation to date were thoroughly analyzed at the discussion, which took place in a sincere, friendly atmosphere. Both sides expressed their intent to seek new methods to intensify the previously existing good relations.

After the discussion, Fred Sinowatz and Gyorgy Lazar took part in laying the foundation stone of the new passenger-traffic building at Ferihegy Airport. As it is known, the new building is being built by an Austrian work collective, after winning the tender.

In the afternoon Fred Sinowatz held a press conference. Our editorial office was represented at this by Lojos Szelestei.

[Szelestei] Relations between Hungary and Austria will certainly develop further in the future as they have to date, the Austrian head of state said at his press briefing today. He added: The fact that the political line in both countries is continuous provides a guarantee for cooperation. No unfavorable signs are appearing in bilateral cooperation. Very close cooperation has developed in the economy, culture, tourism and many other spheres.

Concerning international issues, he stated that Austria, which lies at the heart of Europe, is very disturbed by the unfavorable phenomena that can be experienced now, and that the spiralling of arms has speeded up. Fred Sinowatz recalled the appeal the Vienna government addressed to the powers negotiating at Geneva, asking them to conclude an agreement of principle on the fundamental issues, in the interests of preserving the negotiating process. He emphasized: Austria's position is that a balance of power should be established at the lowest level of arms possible, and that it should extend to every type of weapon and geographic region.

[Unidentified announcer] You can now hear the question from Hungarian radio, from a voice recording:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified questioner] Mr Chancellor, I would like to ask the following question for Hungarian radio. Austria is connected both economically and politically and has very good relations with several other neighboring countries -- for example West Germany or Switzerland. On the basis of what type of economic and political, or other interests did you decide to pay a first official visit as chancellor to Hungary?

[Sinowatz in German with superimposed Hungarian translation] This is my first visit in my capacity as federal chancellor. However, I should like to add that this visit is part of a group of visits, according to which this visit (?takes place) to one of Austria's neighbors. We endeavor for good relations with all our neighboring countries. In this framework we desire in the next year to visit Switzerland, then Yugoslavia, and in December this year I will visit the FRG, even if not on an official basis.

The fact that Hungary figures in the first place among the visits to be paid to neighboring countries can be attributed to our wish to demonstrate the good relations in this manner, since these relations justify such an order of sequence and the appropriateness of the visits. As I have previously pointed out, our relations with Hungary are characterized by the establishment of bilateral relations which are developing very dynamically, regardless of ideological differences. [end recording]

Departs for Home

LD170945 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 17 Nov 83

[Text] Having completed his visit to Budapest, the Austrian chancellor has left for home. Our reporter Lajos Szelestei reports from Budapest's Eastern railway station.

[Szelestei] Fred Sinowatz, his wife and the other members of the delegation, including Heinz Fischer, minister of science and research; Erich Schmidt, state secretary for trade and industry; and Josef Wille, head of the parliamentary group of the Socialist Party, were seen off by Premier Gyorgy Lazar, Deputy Premier Jozsef Marjai and Peter Varkonyi, minister for foreign affairs.

Although the visit was comparatively short -- Fred Sinowatz arrived in Hungary the day before yesterday -- it still contributed extremely well to the development of Hungarian-Austrian relations. It confirmed that, regardless of world political events endangering detente, both sides consider the further building of comprehensive cooperation to be important. Janos Kadar received the Austrian premier yesterday and at their meeting it was noted that dialogue between countries with different social systems had an increased significance in the more tense international atmosphere. At the Hungarian-Austrian talks, new foundations evolved to ensure that, despite the recession of world markets, economic cooperation between the two countries may become more dynamic. The achievement of this objective is expected to be assisted by the fact that even after Chancellor Fred Sinowatz' departure, the directors of several large Austrian concerns are continuing their talks in Budapest, having previously arrived in the Hungarian capital in the company of the chancellor.

KADAR, LAZAR, APRO RECEIVE NEW CSSR ENVOY

LD172043 Budapest MTI in English 1803 GMT 17 Nov 83

[Text] Budapest, November 17 (MTI) -- Ondrej Durej, Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to Hungary, has paid introductory visits on Janos Kadar, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, and Antal Apro, president of the National Assembly.

STATEMENT ON TURKISH CYPRIOT PROCLAMATION

LD172310 Warsaw PAP in Russian 2100 GMT 17 Nov 83

["Statement by the POLISH PRESS AGENCY" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Nov (PAP) -- In connection with the unilateral decision to proclaim a "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus," PAP is authorized to make the following official statement:

The Cyprus conflict, in which has continued for many years and is a dangerous hotbed of international tension in that part of the world, has many times been the subject of debates in the UN and the subject of efforts by the general secretary of that organization directed towards a peaceful, just and lasting settlement of the conflict. Both the Security Council and the UN General Assembly have passed a number of resolutions and decisions, which, were they implemented and observed, would promote the solving of the problem. Poland has played an active part in elaborating those decisions, and supports what the UN secretary general is doing to implement them.

The proclaiming of a separatist state in Cyprus is a unilateral decision which makes agreement between the Greek and Turkish communities living in the Republic of Cyprus more remote. It is aimed at splitting Cyprus, and therefore arouses protest and is unacceptable. If the talks aiming at a peaceful, just, and lasting settlement of the Cyprus crisis are to continue, this decision must be reviewed and canceled. It goes against the UN resolutions and becomes yet another sources of tension in Cyrpus and in the whole region around Cyprus; and this arouses well-founded concern.

Poland consistently maintains its own stand on the Cyprus question. We urge that it be solved by the Cypriots themselves by means of talks between the two communities, taking into account their justified interests, and without interference by other states. This problem must be settled in such a way as to respect the principles of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Republic of Cyprus and of its status as a nonaligned state. This position will be confirmed by the Polish delegation at the UN and, in particular at in Security Council, of which Poland is a member.

CHARGES REDUCED FOR SOLIDARITY LEADERS

NC171920 Paris AFP in English 1849 GMT 17 Nov 83

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 17 (AFP) -- The Polish authorities have reduced the charges against seven former leaders of the banned Solidarity trade union, who now risk a maximum penalty of 10 years' imprisonment instead of death, a legal source said here today. The sources said that the prosecution had decided to drop the charges of "plotting against the state" -- for which the penalties range from five years' imprisonment to execution -- in favor of the lesser charge of "preparing to plot against the state."

The seven are Andrzej Gwiada, Seweryn Jaworski, Marian Jurczyk, Karol Modzelewski, Grzegorz Palka, Andrzej Rozplochowski, and Jan Rukewski. The charges against them is the the same as that levelled against four former leaders of KOR (Social Self-Defence Committee), who are about to be tried.

Recently the authorities let it be known they were prepared to free the 11 dissidents in return for their exile in the West "for some time."

SEJM COMMISSIONS DISCUSS NATIONAL DEFENSE BILLS

LD161843 Warsaw Domestic Service in Poland 1800 GMT 16 Nov 83

[Text] The joint session of the Sejm Commissions for National Defense and Legislative Work discussed the draft amendment of the bill on general obligation for defense of the PPR as presented by the Council of State and Council of Ministers. The draft presented to the Sejm defines the functions of the Committee for National Defense and its competence connected with defensiveness and security of the state. It provides for close links between defense issues examined by the committee with the socioeconomic development of the country. The amendment retains constitutional authority of the Council of Ministers in the field of national defense and organization of the Armed Forces of the Polish Peoples Republic, and regulates the issue of supremacy over the Armed Forces in the Polish Peoples Republic and the appointment of the supreme commander during war. Among the solutions proposed, there are also appropriate rules for improving the principles of national service in civil defense units. The commission has approved the draft amendment and decided to submit it at the next Sejm session.

MRS WALESA APPLIES FOR PASSPORT, VISA TO SWEDEN

LD161807 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1700 GMT 16 Nov 83

[Text] Mrs Danuta Walesa, wife of the Peace Prize winner Lech Walesa, has applied to the Polish authorities for a passport and visa to travel to Oslo and receive the prize, it was announced today by the Norwegian Nobel Committee. The Peace Prize will be presented on 10 December and Lech Walesa is thus refraining from receiving the prize himself since he fears that he will then not be permitted to return to Poland.

JARUZELSKI RUMORED TO RESIGN AS DEFENSE MINISTER

AU171114 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 17 Nov 83 p 2

[Special DIE PRESSE report by "GWO, AG"]

[Text] Vienna/Warsaw — The Polish party and government chief is to relinquish his post as defense minister in the coming days. This step, at which Jaruzelski had hinted as early as in July, is to be announced during the PZPR Central Committee plenary session this coming Friday. According to information received from Vienna diplomatic circles, this session is to be devoted to personnel problems.

A resignation from the post of premier, which had also been hinted at by Jaruzelski, is not expected from this week, however, although well-informed Warsaw circles claim to know already the name of his successor. It is Politburo member Zbigniew Messner, economic expert from Katowice, who is regarded as the most likely successor. The chances of Wroclaw PZPR Secretary Tadeusz Porebski, former rector of the Wroclaw Technical University, who until recently was regarded as the most likely successor to Jaruzelski as premier, are now described as poor by observers. The session of the Sejm, the Polish parliament, scheduled for next Monday could in any case approve these personnel changes.

TRADE MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON U.S. SANCTIONS

AU160802 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Nov 83 p 2

[Interview given by Tadeusz Nestorowicz, minister of foreign trade, to PAP reporter Jan Cipiur: "The Costs of a Lawless Decision"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Cipiur] What is the discriminating nature of the U.S. President's decision based on?

[Nestorowicz] It is best to begin by defining the MFN clause regarding goods. The receipt of this clause by a country regarding features coming under the clause (at present the clause applies to customs duty and other fees involved with trade) guarantees this country that it will be treated no worse than any other state. So it is not a question of obtaining special privileges, but of guaranteeing a country granted the MFN clause that the same customs duty and relaxations in formalities will be applied to this country as to the country granting the clause. Right now, there are almost 130 states enjoying the MFN clause, countries that have signed the GATT. As of 1 November 1982, Poland is not on the list of countries enjoying the MFN clause from the United States. Therefore the discriminatory nature of this decision is obvious.

[Cipiur] In 1967 Poland joined GATT, and so joined the family of states which had signed the GATT. The United States was also one of these countries. The aim of the agreement is to bring down the barriers in international trade. When signing the protocol to join GATT, we received a formal and multilateral assurance that the MFN clause would be applied to trade between all members of GATT, including the United States.

[Nestorowicz] One of the most important articles of GATT states that the contracting parties apply privileged treatment to each other immediately and unconditionally. The United States signed Poland's application to join this agreement without reservation. The United States thus confirmed an earlier bilateral agreement with Poland, and as a member of GATT it also took on itself other duties resulting from the agreement. By suspending the MFN clause for our country, the United States has violated not only the bilateral agreement, but also the basic principles and laws of an international organization.

Of course, we protested immediately by presenting the matter at the GATT forum, both during a council session and then during annual sessions at ministerial level. One can say that U.S. conduct has not met with recognition in the eyes of the remaining members. The fact that the United States applied economic restrictions for political reasons has been criticized particularly sharply.

Our stance has also been expressed in the 29 October 1982 government declaration, and recently we have made a firm protest in our note to the U.S. Government, expecting compensation for the losses and damage done to our economy.

Our products have become considerably less competitive and this has drastically affected Polish exports to the United States, resulting in a drop in foreign currency income from this country from a level of $400 million in 1980 to about $200 million this year. Depriving us of the MFN clause has so raised the price of many Polish goods that have been exported to the United States that it has now become necessary to stop exporting these goods completely.

Typical examples of the goods involved, but by no means the only ones, are machines, especially lathes; ball bearings; brass rods; thick metal sheets; dyes; and drugs. We could export $8-10 million worth of goods to the United States in the form of metal sheets alone, but the higher rate of customs duty makes this impossible. These are losses that can be described as direct losses. Let me give a few more examples. In 1981 we sold about $5 million worth of glass and procelain to American buyers, but this year we have only sold $2 million worth to date. The same figures apply to products made by the cooperative industry, to products manufactured by invalids' cooperatives, and to artistic products.

As far as industrial goods are concerned, we can only export to the United States 40 percent of what we exported in 1981.

Suspending the clause has hit us doubly. On the one hand, it has deprived us of income from exports and, on the other, it has exposed us to further serious losses because of the need to close some companies and seriously limit the activity of other parts of our procurement network. In addition we have incurred heavy expenses for advertising, promotions, and market research. So we have suffered a very perfidious attack.

[Cipiur] Imports from Poland have no doubt been as good a source of business for American merchants as sales to the United States have been for us. So, what have reactions been like from the other side?

[Nestorowicz] The American firms doing business with Poland have also sharply felt the effects of the suspension of the MFN clause. For many of them imports from Poland have been a basis for existence. They have protested in letters addressed to the President, in public statements made in the Office of the United States Trade Representative, and in the columns of the press. For example, the president of Transland Inc in California believes that the suspension of the clause will halt the production and exports to the United States of the Polish M-18 agricultural aircraft, which would affect both his firm and its clients. The head of Salsbury Laboratories in Iowa even says that the clause's withdrawal will disrupt the local animal drug market, stressing that Polish products in this sphere are of better quality than the competition. So the suspension of the clause will cause certain difficulties for American poultry and hog breeders.

American importers of textiles and clothing have protested very sharply. They point out that consumers have been deprived of products they have grown accustomed to. Polish suits have been marked by a fine cut, good quality, and durability. Another strong argument against the suspension has been the threat of unemployment for many American employees involved in handling and distributing Polish imports.

Polish foreign trade has drawn conclusions from the unjustified U.S. Government decision. Once again the idea that the geographic reorientation we are working on is correct has been confirmed.

USSR Cooperation Important

AU161325 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 10 Nov 83 p 4

[Wojciech Kozlowski article: "We are Mutually Necessary to One Another"]

[Excerpts] It does, actually, sound like a paradox, but it was only the sanctions the United States imposed on Poland that clearly showed to our economy the fundamental importance of our cooperation with the Soviet Union.

And this became all the more clear the more that Reagan tightened the noose of his economic blackmail in an attempt to force us to pay for a can of food or some powdered milk with our self-respect and our independence.

In the past we too often used words and generalized symbols with little conviction when talking about our relations with the USSR, although everyday reality has for the past decades supplied us with definite and genuine facts that illustrate Polish-Soviet friendship and cooperation that has, after all, speeded up the reconstruction and development of postwar Poland. These superficial appraisals and generalized slogans frequently left room for simplifications, failed to disperse doubts, provided grounds for rumors, and even conscious duplicity and slander.

The Strategic Significance of Our Cooperation

But the close economic ties between our countries are encouraged by both economic as well as political considerations. The enormous goods intensive Soviet market creates great opportunities for the sale of many of our goods, industrial products, and certain raw materials, offering at the same time those goods essential to the functioning of our economy. We import crude oil, cotton, gas, etc. from our eastern neighbor, and principally export highly processed goods.

Trade and economic cooperation have a fundamental and strategic significance for the development of our country. One third of Poland's turnover with foreign countries is with the Soviet Union. It is from this market that half of our national economy's raw material supplies come from, including almost our entire supplies of crude oil, ore, cotton, and cellulose. This year the turnover between our countries is continuing to grow and will exceed R10 billion, that is, almost Z700 billion despite Poland's trade deficit. The acute importance and the dire need for comprehensively developed economic relations with the USSR was revealed by the current economic crisis, U.S. sanctions, and the world recession, which all came at the same time and left us in a drastic situation. It was precisely then that the extensively developed ties which bind us and refuse to submit to the waverings of the economic situation, provided the sure and essential support that contributed to our curbing the crisis and getting our economic difficulties under control more quickly.

At a Difficult Time for Poland....

We are currently making profound changes in Polish foreign trade in the direction of developing our economic cooperation with socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union. It is also essential for us to work out specialized new exports that will strengthen our position in the Soviet Union's market.

The practice of our long cooperation over many years with the Soviet Union, shaped as it was in economic and political conditions that were often difficult, or in a complex international situation, proves that cooperation with the USSR has allowed for the emergence of the following specialized branches of national industry: shipbuilding, the road and construction machinery industry, aircraft, complete industrial installations, and so on, branches that now play an important role in Polish exports including those to the Soviet Union.

Polish shipyards, now world famous, expanded due to the stable, long-term, consecutive Soviet contracts they were given. To date they have been chartered to build about 800 ships of 40 different kinds for the Soviet Union with a carrying capacity of about 5.5 million tons.

The importance of the supply of Soviet energy to our economy is enormous, especially crude oil and natural gas supplies. In 1983 we received 6 billion cubic meters of gas including 2 billion for our contribution to the building of the Soyuz gas pipeline. We are renowned for the construction of these installations in the Soviet Union. So far, we have built a total of over 1,400 kilometers of large- and medium-sized crude oil and gas pipelines including the 583-kilometer "Polish" strip of the Soyuz gas pipeline, as well as many other compressor stations and infrastructure installations.

To Restore and Strengthen Our Partner-Like Position

Poland is participating in erecting an international energy line of 750 kilovolts that links Rzeszow with the Khmelnitskiy atomic power station.

Poland is also the permanent and main supplier of telephones to the Soviet Market. This export has been going on for 20 years, during which time we supplied the USSR with over 10 million telephones; this year we will sell another 900,000. The Soviet Union is also a permanent customer for our gas stoves and has already bought over 5 million from us. We have a 22-year tradition of cooperation in this field and have good prospects for the future.

These random examples illustrate the different kinds of trade and economic cooperation we enjoy with our Soviet partner.

ROMANIK CHAIRS 10 NOV MINING COMMISSION MEETING

AU161203 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Nov 83 pp 1-2

[Excerpts] PAP -- The principles of the draft Central Annual Plan for 1984 and the implementation of the PZPR Central Committee's 10th plenum resolution concerning fuel and energy economy were the chief topics of the 10 November meeting of the PZPR Central Committee Mining Commission. It was chaired by Jerzy Romanik, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member.

It was stated in the discussion that most of the points contained in the resolution of the 10th PZPR Central Committee plenum concerning fuel and energy economy are being implemented. Good results are being achieved in the mining of pit coal and brown coal. Last year 189.3 million metric tons of pit coal were extracted, 26.3 million metric tons more than in 1981. This year we plan to extract 190 to 191 million metric tons of this raw material, with the daily average extraction during so-called working days (from Monday through Friday) reaching a record level of 630 to 631,000 metric tons. The improvement in the quality of the extracted coal, the growth in productivity, and the better state of work security are worth stressing.

The good mining results fully meet the national economy's demand for electricity and thermal energy and make it possible to regain many foreign markets which were lost earlier.

The commission stated that in further implementing the 10th Central Committee plenum resolution, special attention should be paid to rationalizing fuel and energy economy and reducing the energy intensiveness of production and of national income.

It is considered necessary to introduce the kind of economic mechanisms, and if necessary administrative directives, that will guarantee a reduction in the consumption of liquid and gas fuels in some sectors and branches of the national economy.

Presenting their opinions on the principles of the draft plan for next year, the members of the commission regarded it as essential to continue the level of pit coal extraction to date and to increase exports. It is also necessary to increase the extraction of brown coal, on which the production of electricity is going to depend to an increasing extent.

CZYREK SPEAKS AT GDANSK PZPR PLENUM 4 NOV

PM161405 Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 7 Nov 83 p 11

[Abridged account of speech by Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Politiburo member and Central Committee secretary, delivered at the 4 November Gdansk Voivodship PZPR Committee plenum; passages in uppercase published in boldface]

[Text] Allow me, comrades, to limit my speech to just a few topics: first, a statement of the basic goals of the 13th Central Committee plenum; second, a discussion of some aspects of the current sociopolitical situation and the tasks arising from it; and third, a presentation of the dangers inherent in the current international situation.

I would also like to present a few of my own reflections on the work of your voivodship organization, reflections made from the viewpoint of the subject of today's voivodship committee plenum.

The fundamental aim of the 13th plenum was to strengthen the party's ideological and political unity. This is an essential precondition to enable the party to increase the effectiveness of its work. The ninth congress defended the Marxist-Leninist charter of our party. Nevertheless, even after the congress was over we continued to come across tendencies and phenomena, either revisionist or dogmatically sectarian in nature, undermining the party's ideological and political unity. Although the party took a definite stand concerning those tendencies during its seventh plenum, this does not mean that those negative phenomena have all been completely overcome in the consciousness of all PZPR members and, on a broader scale, in the sphere of general social awareness. When we consider their scale they are not predominant, but they still constitute an unfavorable influence on shaping the stance of some party members, thus hindering the process of achieving the second of the goals formulated at the 13th Central Committee plenum, that is, INCREASING THE IDEOLOGICAL OFFENSIVE IN THE PZPR'S ACTIVITY.

Today neither revisionism nor dogmatism is often found in its pure form. The former is usually disguised under the banner of uncompromising defense of socialist renewal; the latter, under that of adherence to fundamental socialist principles. In both the former and the latter it is not uncommon to come across specific forms of opportunism. There is but one single criterion: Everything that threatens party unity or weakens its joint, uniform action is harmful.

At the same time I would like to sound a warning against the tendency to attach labels too hastily. We have had painful experiences with that. What we primarily need is party unity and cohesion within party ranks.

The second goal formulated at the 13th Central Committee plenum was that of INCREASING THE PARTY'S IDEOLOGICAL OFFENSIVE IN ITS STRUGGLE FOR SOCIAL AWARENESS AND AGAINST ALIEN DOCTRINES. We have done a lot here already, but we have not yet been able to fully surmount the negative results of the activity carried out by our internal political adversary, as well as by Western centers of ideological and propaganda subversion. It is now absolutely essential for the party to move on to the offensive, to discard its defensive stance.

It sometimes happens that party members fall silent when it comes to a confrontation over people's political views; they are unable to make an effective defense of our ideological values or political positions. Without an active fighting approach, without an active stance we will be unable to secure any proper standing for Marxist-Leninist ideology or to effectively carry out the tasks connected with the leading role played by the party in the life of Polish society. It must not be a temporary goal either, connected exclusively with the realization of the 13th plenum resolution: It must constitute a constant practice in party activity.

Another task is TO ENSURE A GREATER COHESION BETWEEN IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES IN THE DAILY PRACTICE OF OUR SOCIAL EXISTENCE. We used to discuss this unity in theoretical terms. But the greatest value in socialist ideology is given to the working man, to the man who gives shape to his existence through the process of work. Thus it is the aim of socialism to create a system of social justice in which the working man can freely develop his spiritual qualities and fully satisfy his material needs. The profoundly humanist character of our ideology stems from this approach. Therefore all programs of party activity, together with our members' stances, must be assessed in terms of the degree to which they are consistent with the socialist ideology and with the principle of broadly understood social justice.

The above can also be applied to moves seemingly remote from all ideology, such as the recent restoration of fats rationing. Had the problem been presented from a different angle than that of quantitative technicalities (such as quoting the extent of our stocks of milk, butter, and so on), social reactions to it would in all probability have been quite different. This experience ought to prevent us from repeating similar moves in other difficult economic operations.

The next point on the agenda of the 13th Central Committee plenum was AN APPRAISAL OF CERTAIN TOPICAL PROBLEMS OF OUR DAY, SUCH AS, POLAND'S CURRENT STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT. It was unequivocally ascertained at the plenum that we are still at the stage of transition from capitalism to socialism, with all the consequences that follow from that. Consequently, contradictions occur -- both nonantagonistic and antagonistic, class contradictions -- and these require that appropriate political, legal, and administrative safeguarding provisions be made and that a new approach be found to the question of the nation's ideological and political unity. An example of such an approach is seen in the work of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. The main concern is to work out joint standpoints on questions fundamental for the nation and the state.

After the 13th plenum, acting with the aim of provoking a confrontation between the Church and the socialist state, both the internal and the external adversaries raised a great outcry over the party's supposed attack on the Church. This does not correspond with the truth. Church-state relations have not changed. We assess them in a positive light, as we also do the standpoint taken by a definite majority of the clergy.

At the 13th plenum the party yet again confirmed its consistently maintained standpoint concerning relations between the state and the Church. We do not divide our citizens into believers and nonbelievers. Respect for differences in world outlook cannot, however, mean that the party can abandon its duty to disseminate the scientific founations of Marxism-Leninism, nor that it can remain passive in the face of manifestations of intolerance, the clericalization of society's life, or demonstrations of hostility -- disguised under the cloak of religious feeling -- toward the socialist state. The party declares itself in favor of cooperation between the Church and the state in the work directed at overcoming the crisis and helping the country's development, in strengthening its security and struggling for peace, and in the cause of the nation's moral renewal.

The debates at the 13th Central Committee plenum also included the question of the need to observe the principles of social justice, the equality of all citizens before the law, and citizens' opportunities to acquire an education and find work compatible with their qualifications. THE EGALITARIAN PRINCIPLE MUST NOT, HOWEVER, BE TREATED MECHANISTICALLY, THE WAY IT IS STILL TREATED IN CERTAIN ENTERPRISES WHERE THERE IS STILL NO CLEAR CONNECTION BETWEEN PAY LEVELS AND THE QUANTITY AND QUALITY OF THE WORK DONE OR SERVICES RENDERED. NO CRITERION FOR THE DIVISION OF PROFITS IS MORE JUST OR SOCIALLY BETTER JUSTIFIED THAN THE CRITERION OF THE WORK ACTUALLY CARRIED OUT.

During the plenum the need was often stressed for a MORE EFFECTIVE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE PHENOMENA OF SOCIAL PATHOLOGY, AGAINST MARKET SPECULATION, AND SO ON. The question of the functioning of the private sector of the economy was discussed, as was the activity of Polonia firms. I would like to stress that in the present conditions of the decentralized system of administration a large number of these matters fall under the competence of local organs of state administration, and that is where the decisions should be taken. It is necessary to protect the small-scale manufacturing industry and the handicraft industry wherever their products and their services serve to fill the gap left by the insufficient effectiveness of the socialised sector and wherever they perform a useful and socially justified role.

That deals with the matters discussed at the 13th Central Committee plenum. Now I would like to dwell on some ASPECTS OF THE CURRENT SOCIOPOLITICAL SITUATION. Although, in constrast to the situation prior to 13 December 1981, we do not have to deal with any organized actions by the adversary, the danger nonetheless persists that the latter will take advantage of spontaneous social reactions that might occur if the authorities in power commit certain specific political mistakes. Still, we must not underestimate this danger, particularly given the continuing instability of the population's moods and reactions. Hence the enormous importance attached to the realization of the resolutions of the 13th Central Committee plenum and to the outcome of the coming 14th Central Committee plenum, which is to be devoted to economic problems.

For it is on economic and social welfare matters that society's attention is mostly focused today. They also form a basis for the calculations of the political adversary, who counts on the socialist authorities' failure to cope with economic difficulties and on being able to make use of any social discontent to further his own aims in the political struggle. Hence also the whole system of sanctions and political pressure applied by the Western countries with the aim of making our economic difficulties even more acute and bringing about a collapse of the Polish economy.

How convenient it would be now for the United States to be able to direct the world's attention to Poland, thus diverting it from what is going on in Grenada, for instance. That is why all the work currently being done on improving the implementation of the reform mechanisms in our economy should be aimed at securing correct correlations between pay, productivity, and investment. Without these there is no possibility of effectively stemming inflation.

After the report and election campaign is finished we will be faced with the national delegates' conference. This will be an important event in the life of our party: a forum where we will assess the STATE OF IMPLEMENTATION of the RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE NINTH CONGRESS. THE AIM OF THE CONFERENCE WILL BE TO PREPARE A PROGRAM OF PARTY UNTIL THE 10TH PZPR CONGRESS. The ideological and program declaration "WHAT WE ARE FIGHTING FOR, WHERE WE ARE GOING" is to play the role of such a document. Work is still continuing on the final version of the draft declaration. The main concern is to make the document persuasive and socially reverberant in the highest degree. We are also accelerating work on the preparation of a long-term program of party work.

In May elections to People's councils will take place. THESE WILL CONSTITUTE A POLITICAL CAMPAIGN WHOSE RESULTS MAY PROVE TO BE THE DECISIVE STEP IN THE PROCESS OF OVERCOMING THE POLITICAL CRISIS MARKED BY THE BREAKDOWN OF CONFIDENCE IN THE AUTHORITIES IN POWER. People's Councils should be a true instrument of people's power. And so it is necessary today to take care to ensure that our best party members are nominated as candidates for those organs of authority.

We are called upon to realize all these tasks in a difficult international situation in which Poland finds itself the object of an unprecedented campaign instigated by the U.S. Administration.

THE THREAT TO PEACE POSED BY IMPERIALISM MAKES IT INCUMBENT UPON US TO INTENSIFY THE STRUGGLE TO RESCUE THE WORLD FROM THE DANGER OF NUCLEAR WARFARE. We must intensify where the force that constitutes the foundation of peace for Europe and the Whole world might become undermined in its balance. [as published]

That essential guarantee of the preservation of world peace does not, however, exclude the danger of regional conflicts arising and of capitalist powers destroying national liberation movements and progressive social forces in different parts of the world. In view of the irresponsible policy of the United States the danger also exists of an overall world confrontation. This is why we in the party attach such enormous importance to all social movements for world peace. It is worth noting how enormously widespread those movements are in the West, proving that the militarist and expansionist aspirations harbored by Western governments stand in contrast to their citizens' wishes.

We must remember that Poland will for a long time yet continue to be an object of constant ideological and propaganda subversion. An improved sociopolitical and economic situation in the country, together with a shift in our economic orientation in favor of cooperation with CEMA member-states -- cooperation unaffected by various political exigencies -- will automatically limit the opportunities for destructive action on the part of antisocialist Western forces. In addition, some enlightened Western politicians are beginning to realize that if the restrictions directed against Poland continue to be kept in force -- thus hindering our country's economic development -- this will hold back the chances of our speedy repayment of the credits that their countries had granted to us. And any decline in our economic cooperation with the capitalist countries closes the Polish market to those countries, which in effect will lead to their incurring definite economic losses too.

To conclude, here are some comments on THE WORK OF THE GDANSK PARTY ORGANIZATION. I rate highly the report of your voivodship executive committee which refers to the specific circumstances in which your work here is carried out. I believe that YOUR VOIVODSHIP ORGANIZATION CAN BOAST PARTICULAR ACHIEVEMENTS IN REALIZING THE LINES AND TASKS DISCUSSED AT THE 13TH CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM. In your area a number of ideological and political dangers occurred in a particularly acute form. The fact that, on the whole, your organization managed to overcome those dangers deserves specific recognition from the whole party. At the same time -- as was evident both from the report and from standpoints expressed in the debate -- YOU ARE CONSCIOUS OF THE MAGNITUDE OF THE TASKS WHICH ARE STILL FACING YOU IN THE WORK TO STRENGTHEN THE PARTY IDEOLOGICALLY AND POLITICALLY AND TO STIMULATE IT IN ITS FUTURE ACTIVITY.

I wish you much success in realizing these ambitious projects.

BEJGER INTERVIEWED ON PARTY PROBLEMS IN GDANSK

AU160740 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 7 Nov 83 p 3

[Interview given by Stanislaw Bejger, PZPR Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Gdansk Voivodship PZPR Committee, to Roman Przeciszewski: "When Party Organizations Are Strong the Party Is Strong"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Przeciszewski] During a Central Committee plenum some 6 months ago you said that "unfortunately, the time of complete and universal normalization has as yet not arrived. Not all our people nor the entire workers class have as yet fully understood the party program and believe that it can be implemented." What is the present situation after the lifting of martial law?

[Bejger] The situation is certainly better, but many negative phenomena continue to assert themselves. However, support for various actions of antisocialist elements has clearly decreased, as attested to by such events as refusal to respond to the underground appeal for an "Italian strike" last August and to boycott the press and public transportation in order to "honor" the third anniversary of the August agreements. It is an indisputable fact that labor productivity and industrial production have increased. Our workers know that "go slow" work will not overcome our crisis.

[Przeciszewski] What about the Gdansk party organization? Can you say that it is more effective in action and influence?

[Bejger] The Gdansk organization has lost many members. Before the August events it totaled 105,000 members, of whom 15,000 left the organization before the introduction of martial law and another 16,000 left or were removed from party rolls after 13 December 1981. The present membership of the Gdansk party organization amounts to some 74,000 members. This represents a large numerical slump, but insofar as quality is concerned, the Gdansk party organization is a completely different organization. It is a strengthened organization, one whose members not only support its ideological assumptions, but also commit themselves to the implementation of its tasks. However, it cannot be said that all members are always committed to implementing these tasks in the same militant way. For example, there are cases when attendance at party meetings by party members totals 60-80 percent of those eligible. Some people say that 80 percent is a high ratio, but we would like that 20 percent to also be active.

[Przeciszewski] The 13th Central Committee plenum has demonstrated that the party continues to be an area of many irritating and complicated problems and that the mode of activity must continue to be militant. Do you think the situation of your party organizations is different, calmer?

[Bejger] I have not said that the situation of the Gdansk party organization is already very good. Despite the progress we have achieved, we continue to be faced by many difficulties, which do not stem so much from the quality of party ranks and from their numerous strength as from the relatively considerable influence of the antisocialist forces. Before martial law was introduced these forces had their center in Gdansk, and now they are still trying to influence our people by various methods. We should also bear in mind that these forces are enjoying the support of the forces of propaganda aggression, which are doing whatever they can to hinder our activities and to delay the process by which our people go over to the positions of implementing the ninth party congress resolutions. That is why, although we have been able to restore our party's leading role in Gdansk Voivodship, we have still not fully recovered the leading role among the people living in the maritime region and among our workers class. This is precisely the reason why we are being forced to increase action militancy and to widen the front of our struggle.

[Przeciszewski] All right, but accusations are being levelled against you -- against the party leadership. Ordinary party members would like to see you among them more often. This is what was said at the 13th party plenum by a delegate from the maritime region.

[Bejger] I know that speech and I agree that we should visit the "grassroots" people more often. As for me, I am always with them as long as there is an opportunity for this and I have enough time. But the thing is that there is another side to this problem. I think that a selective approach to political or administrative authority and the demand that only this authority should go among people, give them things, and explain problems is a simplification. We also see another aspect of this problem: the party and the power apparatus will be strong if primary party organizations and party groups are strong. This means that we must make efforts to increase the independence of these party organizations and groups. What is at stake is not only that -- as was the case not so long ago -- a military commissar, a party secretary, or someone from a higher level should go among people, defend them, help them, and advise them, but also that social justice is ensured, that economic activities, production quality, and labor productivity are more effective, and that the struggle to eliminate irregularites takes place, above all, at the grassroots level. The truth is that it is easier to go to a shipyard or to the harbor than to have the comrades from the party organization take action by their own initiative in precisely this regard, with our eventual support. This is a problem that is being discussed with increasing frequency by aktivs and mass media. We will have to place emphasis on this issue during the present party accountability-election campaign and after it is over. This is what we need to do.

[Przeciszewski] At this point the question arises as to what role the Armed Forces, which have returned to the barracks, are playing now. Does this mean for you that the Armed Forces have returned to their service affairs, have withdrawn into themselves, and have departed from whatever they had to additionally concern themselves with in the past months?

[Bejger] Certainly not. I will answer your question by a counterquestion: Have the Armed Forces ever lived only for their own service affairs? No doubt everyone will concede that the Armed Forces have always actively participated in the life of all our people -- both in the economic and the social-cultural spheres. The Armed Forces have been and continue to be like this in Gdansk Voivodship as well. This is a normal phenomenon, one our society accepts.

[Przeciszewski] Let us concede that there have been those who said that the Armed Forces did go too far, did take over power....

[Bejger] Delicately speaking, this is reasoning from the position of an oppositionist. After all, the Armed Forces are part and parcel of the setup of the power apparatus of the socialist state. And party members in uniform have the same aims and tasks as comrades wearing civilian clothes. It goes without saying that during martial law the Armed Forces' commitment to "civilian" matters was considerable in terms of time and extent, but has continued to diminish as the situation became more and more stabilized. However, this does not at all mean that a situation should ever arise in which soldiers no longer cooperate with us in solving the joint tasks of the people in the maritime region. After all, the Armed Forces are part of these people and must not stand on the sidelines and just look on and evaluate.

[Przeciszewski] It can be said that the comrade secretary cooperates with the Armed Forces every day. The past period which stimulated this cooperation, made it certainly possible to make new observations. What is it in the contemporary Armed Forces that strikes you most? What is their most characteristic feature?

[Bejger] The most important thing from the viewpoint of a civilian is that the Armed Forces have a good cadre, which is trained consistently in line with developed principles and which is equal to its tasks. Unfortunately, this system of cadre training and of creating reserve cadres has not been used in civilian institutions or organizations. Although resolutions have been passed to this effect and attempts have been made to achieve something, little has been achieved. That is why it is no accident that we have so many difficulties in choosing the right civilians for posts when personnel changes are necessary. It is very often necessary to make personnel changes because some comrades are either tired or are incapable of coping with their tasks and duties. They have to go, but we are faced with the difficulty of finding suitable replacement. One more observation produced by the past period, namely, that the military cadre is efficient and courageous in undertaking in a most dedicated manner the tasks with which it had nothing to do in the past.

Workers Interviewed

AU161359 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 12 Nov 83 p 6

[Interview given by Mieczyslaw Drazek, PZPR Central Committee member and engine operator on the Hel-108 fishing boat of the Koga fishing enterprise in Hel, to Merek Henzler: "At the Top and at the Grassroots Level -- I Venture Out During a Storm"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Henzler] Gdansk and the entire Gdansk Voivodship has become an important yardstick of the country's social moods in the past few years. Is it easy or difficult to be a Central Committee member from this voivodship?

[Drazek] Search me. I suppose my position could be compared with the position of a miner in Silesia. I see no difference, although Gdansk society is certainly a little different because there are many newcomers and more contacts with the West here. Besides, people here no doubt mature more quickly as could be seen during the successive mutinies of the workers class. That democracy that ran riot not so long ago and which I could not comprehend has turned the heads of many people, although they are not fools and could have settled the conditions within the country in a completely normal way.

[Henzler] It is a fact that the leadership of the Gdansk Voivodship committee has been treated in line with the instructions on the running of the party under martial law....

[Drazek] It seems to me that the need to replace the secretariat of the voivodship committee occurred before that -- prior to martial law and before the instruction in question. If this issue had been placed on the agenda of an earlier plenum of the voivodship committee, such a decision would have been taken there and then.

[Henzler] Why?

[Drazek] I have met with the assertions that Comrade Fiszbach [former first secretary of the Gdansk Voivodship PZPR Committee] promoted a liberalization of party life that went far too far and that, taking into account the chaotic political situation, especially in the maritime region, the voivodship committee leadership should not have allowed such liberalization. Compliants were also made that GLOS WYBRZEZA had ceased to be a party organ.

[Henzler] You say: "I have met with assertions." "Complaints were made...."

[Drazek] This is also the view I take.

[Henzler] Only every 10th worker and every 70th student in your voivodship is a party member. At the same time, every fourth white-collar worker is a party member.

[Drazek] Yes, this is true. We have suffered large losses, and many organizations continue to be fast asleep or are so weak that they are unable to organize an effective discussion at a meeting. In view of this, how is it possible for them to attract new members? And those white-collar workers? Many of them have found themselves in the party purely by accident. At one time they used to join the party because party membership was profitable. It is now no longer profitable, but they have become accustomed to it and are staying on.

[Henzler] You know Comrade Kubiak's report. Do you agree with his evaluation of the events in the maritime region?

[Drazek] After I listened to that report I felt some inner dissatisfaction, but I do not know the reason for it. However, I did not volunteer any observations on that report, although, in my view, it contains many inadequate formulations.

[Henzler] How long have you been in the party?

[Drazek] I am 50 years old and have been a party member since 1955. Times were also difficult in those days. Perhaps this sounds unnatural, but I still have faith that this party of ours is capable of running our country effectively and that I will never again see and experience any breakdowns of the party as long as I live.

[Henzler] This running of the country has not always been up to par?

[Drazek] We have not always entrusted the government of the country to wise people. We have entrusted it too often to amateurs. You also have to take account of the position from which we started. Those war ravages....

[Henzler] Do you think it is right to speak of war ravages almost 40 years after the war?

[Drazek] All right, let us just take into account the people who have run our country and then misfired. The party would entrust a function to a modest individual full of enthusiasm, but within a year this individual would become a dignitary. The wrong individuals were selected for functions and posts.

[Henzler] But the newcomers to the power apparatus are no longer like that?

[Drazek] Not so many are like that. I also hope that the principles of cadre policy adopted by the 13th party plenum will not remain merely a theory and will prevent a return of the old practices.

[Henzler] You work in the Central Committee Elected Bodies Commission. Everyone knows that experts are developing a bill on new election procedures. These new procedures will to a great extent determine who will run the government and how. Has your commission debated this bill?

[Drazek] A little, but without examining its alternatives. We are all agreed that the present election procedures should be changed. People are talking about the Hungarian model, which we could adopt. I think that at least two candidates should be proposed for a single people's councillor or Sejm deputy, whose election must be a genuine election.

[Henzler] Who would propose the candidates?

[Drazek] The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth.

[Henzler] Exclusively? Does this not present the danger that the movement will again become the National Unity Front under a different name?

[Drazek] I have no opinion on this issue.

[Henzler] Should the present proportions of mandate allocation be maintained?

[Drazek] The best and most active people from the PZPR and the allied political parties, as well as nonparty people who are honest, whom the electorate knows, and who want to work should be election candidates.

[Henzler] Are you afraid that oppositionists may be elected to representative bodies and thus be able to legally proclaim their views and perhaps even implement them?

[Drazek] I am not afraid of that. In order to maintain the leading role of the party there is no need for it to enjoy the absolute majority of party members in the rural or urban people's council. But they must be individuals from whom we will not be forced to withdraw our party recommendations with shame.

[Henzler] What about the Sejm?

[Drazek] We will see how the land lies after the elections to people's councils. If these elections take place before the Sejm elections, then we will see what kind of people have been elected to these councils, and we will still have time to improve the Sejm election procedures. The procedures for the elections to the people's councils and to the Sejm do not have to be identical.

[Henzler] As a Central Committee member you have a good knowledge of events in the party and the country? The former team was accused of falsifying information meant not only for the population, but even for the party's narrower aktivs?

[Drazek] There is certainly no falsifying now, although I realize that I do not get information on everything. But should I know everything? Things are worse when the information I should get right away I get the following day and from other than the right source to boot. The Gdnask Voivodship committee receives telex information from the Central Committee, and this information is made available for the Central Committee members from our voivodship, but the thing is that I am 100 km away from Gdansk and am often on a fishing trip, in which case I have no contact with the shore. It is bulletins that I consult, but they usually appear late.

[Henzler] Has the party completed the process of purging its ranks?

[Drazek] No! There are too many careerists and profiteers in the party. What is ranking is that many party members have been able to make their careers and now continue to pretend that they have clean slates. It is difficult to get at them. It would be very useful to rid the party of this dead wood. The worker and peasant aktivs could achieve a great deal in this regard. They must do more than just look for profiteers in the sector of private initiative or of trade. They must get at the political profiteers and careerists in the party. We spoke a great deal about this issue at the 13th plenum.

[Henzler] You attend various meetings as a guest and you are a councillor of the city people's council and the voivodship people's council and a member of the Koga factory committee executive body and of the city committee in Hel. Do the people you meet think that the power apparatus takes notice of the grassroots opinions in view of so many crisis situations in the past?

[Drazek] I think that, generally speaking, people do not think so. People say that, yes, the power appratus does listen to what workers have to say, but that it does what it wants to. It will be hard to change this thinking of the people. That is why what the power apparatus does is not believed in; rumors are easily set in circulation; and it is difficult to obtain the people's backing for many decisions, including price decisions or some personnel decisions.

[Henzler] New increases in food prices will come into force....

[Drazek] People do not believe that as a community we work or produce less. As individuals they do not notice this in their own jobs. On the contrary, they believe that they are now working more productively and that their present living standards must not be lowered any further.

[Henzler] As an old head of the branch trade union you now continue to promote the new trade union?

[Drazek] The most I do is to help with advice. Our trade union totals some 200 members and is being run by new people. Almost no trade unionists decided to put up their candidatures for the trade union authority. The new trade unionists continue to learn as we did at one time. You may be surprised, but there are few party members among the new trade unionists.

[Henzler] No wonder. What are your union's main tasks?

[Drazek] To integrate the work force and to push our wage claims. There has been no change in our wages since 1980. If there are plenty of fish our earnings are large, but when there are few fish or when we are unable to fish for some weeks because of storms, then we find it very hard to make ends meet. Aside from farmers, fishermen are no doubt the only people whose incomes are not always determined by their performance.

FARMERS IN KRAKOW VOIVODSHIP 'SKEPTICAL'

AU142048 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Nov 83 pp 1-2

[Andrzej Gesing report: "Party Activities in Rural Areas"]

[Excerpts] The 9 November plenum of the Krakow Voivodship PZPR Committee was devoted to party work in rural areas and to associated ideological and economic tasks.

The plenum, which was chaired by Jozef Gajewicz, first secretary of the Krakow Voivodship PZPR Committee, was attended by the leading political-economic aktivs in rural areas and by representatives of science, self-management organizations, and the ZSL. The invited guests included PZPR Politburo member Hieronim Kubiak and PZPR Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek.

The plenum participants searched for an answer to the question of what the party's place should be in the rural areas in the present conditions.

A profoundly analytical report prepared by the executive body of the voivodship committee with the help of sociopolitical research carried out in Krakow Voivodship villages last June was devoted to the problem in question.

The results of that research and the views aired at the plenum produced an extremely complicated mechanism of ideological work among rural people. As most participants in the discussion stated, it is difficult to overestimate the issue of the attitudes displayed by farmers and by a large mass of educational workers, self-management bodies, and other bodies that provide services for villages and farming. This is because those attitudes are determined equally by political and economic issues.

The situation of Polish rural areas has been slowly stabilized in the past few months and many issues concerning the cultivation of lands, the protection of peasant property, and the activities of self-management bodies have been solved. Nevertheless, as First Secretary Jozef Gajewicz said, the rural community, which has been used to irresolute farm policy, continues to approach new changes with scepticism. It is we, the party members, who should and can play an inspiring role in convincing the farmer that the decisions we have made are lasting elements of the state's long-term and stable policy vis-a-vis farming. Unfortunately, many party organizations in rural areas have been weak, numerically small, and of no major political importance for years. Although such assertions have also been made for years, it has not been possible to change this state of affairs.

The Polish farmer, the plenum participants asserted, is a pragmatic individual, who can be convinced only by concrete examples and genuinely positive activities. He measures the authority of the gmina secretary by the secretary's skills and results in agricultural work. This is precisely what party organizations should be aware of in their work.

Central Committee Secretary Z. Michalek spoke at the end of the debate. It is out of the question, he said, that high quality soils -- and Krakow Voivodship has such soils -- should produce yields that are below average. That is why it is the task of party organizations in rural areas to implement the economic concepts jointly developed by the PZPR and the ZSL.

We have traditions of urban-rural cooperation, which were strongly reaffirmed by the ninth party congress and the 11th party plenum. We have to build socialism on the basis of these traditions. The issue is that the farming program, which must be a program of our people, has as many allies as possible, not only in regard to developing concepts, but also to implementing them.

Z. Michalek appealed to the initiatives and potential of the party aktivs connected with rural areas. They are not only the 200,000 farmers, but also include rural teachers, educational workers, state farm workers, peasant-workers -- everyone connected with farm production. Above all they must know the basic answer to the question concerning the future of farm production, which must be determined by high yields resulting from lower costs and improved work organization.

OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON PROFITEER MILLIONAIRES

AU152146 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 12/13 Nov 83 p 8

[Press review compiled by "SOW": "In the Weeklies -- How Many Millionaires Do We Have?"]

[Excerpt] Stefan Cieply interviews the inspector of the Krakow Fiscal Chamber [name unspecified] on the subject of our millionaires in ZYCIE LITERACKIE. The following are excerpts:

[Cieply] What is the extent of the phenomenon called affluence or neocapitalism?

[Inspector] No one in Poland will tell you this exactly. I can only hazard a guess that this phenomenon concerns 1-2 percent of the adult population....

[Cieply] Do you often come across "big money"?

[Inspector] Very frequently, and then it turns out that it comes from assets that have been obtained from donations, loans, and legacies...and some 10 percent of this is an honestly earned fortune....

[Cieply] Who are the people who now have considerable fortunes?

[Inspector] I suspect that their fortunes are first, due to an illegal turnover of foreign currency and gold; the second category consists of profiteers (people who trade in cars, property, and houses); the third, of franchise holders...; the fourth, of taxpayers who successfully deceive the fiscal authorities and own, above all, all sorts of boutiques, and shops for flowers, vegetables, fruits, and spare parts for cars.

[Cieply] What about trades and services?

[Inspector] Trades belong to the last group and are as greatly controlled as the traditional "private sector" so that there is little room for any kind of larger dishonest earnings...

[Cieply] So where do we put the group of several hundred thousand people who have amassed a fortune or are still doing so abroad?

[Inspector] I think you have probably overshot the mark. These people left the country legally, and what is more, the state treasury does not have to spend extra money on them, but even makes a profit from them. Their earnings, on the other hand are not so enormous and are obtained by hard work and making sacrifices...

In any case, if we allow such trips to take place as a state, then we cannot condemn them. The earnings these people make, especially in the second payments area, are mainly below the average wage in that particular country....

Current sociological research points to a very worrying social process that is based on social stratification, thus making the rich richer and the poor poorer.

This is the old money-makes-money principle. What saddens me is something else, the fact that less and less priority and importance is being placed on sound, honest work.

USSR DELIVERS SUPPLIES AHEAD OF SCHEDULE

LD162249 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 16 Nov 83

[Text] The Soviet Union continues to implement ahead of schedule the deliveries of goods for our country. In many instances, it has already fully carried out the commitments for this year. At the end of October, we have received from the Soviet Union the tea and hard cheeses we ordered. The deliveries of tinned fish are arriving regularly. As a result of an additional agreement signed in the second half of the year, the Soviet Union has started to supply us also wtih herrings. The Soviet partner is discharging the deliveries of industrial consumer goods with a surplus and ahead of schedule. Regarding market goods, only the obligation to supply color television sets has not been met in full.

ECONOMIC TALKS HELD WITH CSSR FINANCE MINISTER

Nieckarz, Madej Meet Ler

LD161102 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0830 GMT 16 Nov 83

[Text] Poland -- Stanislaw Nieckarz, Poland's minister of finance, and Leopold Ler, the CSSR minister of finance, have had talks in Warsaw about cooperation between the two countries in the financial sphere. The Czechoslovak minister also had talks with Zbigniew Madej, deputy chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, about further strengthening financial and economic cooperation between Czechosolakia and Poland.

Madej on Economic Cooperation

AU151655 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Nov 83 p 7

[Text] PAP -- On the conclusion of Polish-CSSR economic talks in Prague, Vice Premier Zbigniew Madej made a statement to our PAP correspondent Bohdan Rolinski and among other things said:

-- The Prague meeting of the cochairmen of the Polish-CSSR Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation was also devoted to preparing other important meetings, above all a summit meeting, which will discuss the main strategic lines of Polish-CSSR cooperation. We also made preparations for the 21st session of our committee for cooperation at the beginning of next year.

-- Appraising the cooperation between our two countries, we noted that since the most recent session of the committee for cooperation, Polish-CSSR trade had been very dynamic and had increased 7 percent, which attests to the fact that, despite economic difficulties, Poland's trade with the CSSR and other socialist countries has been considerably invigorated. The results of this trade are much better than those of the trade with the capitalist countries.

-- During the present Prague meeting we were primarily interested in concepts for the future. We produced a number of such concepts. It seems that, for example, cooperation in the production of heavy tractors can become a speciality of Polish-CSSR cooperation. This issue is advanced enough for experts to examine technical and fiscal questions. Cooperation between our industries in producing a small tractor with a 24 HP engine, which possess all accessories, and which is most useful for small farms presents a highly attractive opportunity for our country.

-- We discussed the issues of jointly continuing some of the investment projects that had been abandoned in our country. We reached accord on producing long-life electric bulbs in Pila and continue to discuss the production of carbon electrodes in Nowy Sacz. We have made several specific proposals to our partners.

-- Like other countries possessing raw materials, Poland has proposed that the CSSR should participate in the expansion of our raw materials base. This participation would be paid by raw materials supplies later.

-- Because parallel work is continuing to coordinate the economic plans up to 1990, it is possible to take into account all issues and proposals under discussion in the planning documents produced by the two sides. This is the guarantee that these issues and proposals will be implemented.

-- One of the subjects discussed at the Prague meeting was the issue of tourism, which has been greatly developed between our two countries but which has been halted in the past few months. We tried to find ways to stimulate this tourism on lines similar to those we used to stimulate Polish-GDR tourism. For example, some 100,000 Polish youths spent their vacations in the GDR. We would like to expand organized tourism with the CSSR as well.

-- In conclusion I would like to stress the importance of the CSSR as our economic partner -- the third after the USSR and the GDR -- in terms of trade. For example, our Czechoslovak partners are very important suppliers of machinery and installations to our country. Automobile equipment accounts for 17 percent of our imports from the CSSR. On the other hand, Poland plays a crucial role in providing our Czechoslovak neighbors with energy and raw materials. For example, bituminous coal accounts for 70 percent and sulfur for 6 percent of our exports to the CSSR.

FDGB CHAIRMAN CONCLUDES VISIT 16 NOVEMBER

Jaruzelski Meets With Tisch

LD162343 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2012 GMT 16 Nov 83

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Nov (ADN) -- In Warsaw today Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and Harry Tisch, member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the FDGB National Executive Committee, expressed their deep concern about the dangers arising for world peace from the deployment of new U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe. U.S. imperialism is creating more and more new areas of tension, as shown by the instances in the Caribbean and the Middle East. The two sides agreed that everything has to be done to prevent a nuclear inferno. Wojciech Jaruzelski and Harry Tisch affirmed their full consent to and support for the peace initiatives of the USSR.

Both politicians paid tribute to the successful development of all-round relations between the two fraternal parties, peoples, and countries. They devoted particular attention to issues of trade union work. They declared the determination of their countries to develop cooperation, particularly at the level of enterprises, as well as in industrial trade unions and trade union federations. In this connection, Harry Tisch suggested the exchange next year of 40,000 holidaymakers between the factory trade union organizations of both countries. [Warsaw Television Service in Polish at 1830 GMT 16 Nov 83 adds: "The meeting was attended by Kazimierz Barcikowski".

Tisch Cited on TU Relations

LD161335 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 16 Nov 83

[Text] A delegation of the FDGB led by Harry Tisch, chairman of the association and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, is paying a short working visit to Poland. Today, the guests from the GDR are in Lodz. This morning they met with representatives of the Federation of Independent Self-Governing Trade Unions of Light Industry. The meeting provided an opportunity for exchanging mutual experiences and establishing forms of cooperation in the nearest future. I spoke to the chairman of the delegation, Harry Tisch, on this subject:

[Begin Tisch recording in German with superimposed Polish translation] For a long time we traditionally have had very good relations with trade unions in Poland. We know that on the basis of the new trade union law the process of union rebirth is in progress and the first federations have been established.

We are interested in developing partnerlike friendly relations with your trade unions. I want to discuss, and also to convey our experiences in trade unions activity. We wish our cooperation and exchange between workers to develop again. We also want to expand vacation exchanges between children and youth groups. This way, step by step, our cooperation should strengthen. [end recording]

Visit Ends

LD170949 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 16 Nov 83

[Text] Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, has ended his visit to Poland. During his 2-day working visit the chairman of the GDR trade unions met with activists of the trade union that is being reborn in our country and was received by Wojciech Jaruzelski.

FOREIGN MINISTER OLSZOWSKI ARRIVES IN HANOI

For reportage on the visit of Stefan Olszowski, Politburo member and minister of foreign affairs, to the SRV, see the Vietnam section of the 17 November Asia & Pacific DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

50TH ANNIVERSARY OF U.S.-USSR RELATIONS NOTED

LD161302 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 16 Nov 83

[Wladyslaw Sharski dispatch from Moscow]

[Text] The 50th anniversary of establishment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the United States has been noted in Moscow by a series of publications. History knows few examples of so complicated a policy of one state toward another as the attitude of the United States toward the Soviet Union. Especially because the two states have no common borders, have no territorial quarrels, and never have been at war against each other. The United States recognized the Soviet Union as late as 1933, without previously noticing that on the political map of the world a new socialist state had begun to exist. Then World War II broke out. The memory of diplomatic and military cooperation in defense of the world before the Hitlerite holocaust remains in the minds of several generations of Russians and Americans until today. The cold war years, the period of Truman and Dulles, led American policy into hopeless blind alley. Kennedy, and later Nixon, understood that ignoring and isolating the land of the Soviets was pointless. The disgraceful American withdrawal from the Vietnam war at the beginning of the seventies was followed by a period of good relations, with many agreements, contacts at the highest level and joint decisions limiting armaments, with preference for cooperation. In recent years we have again seen a return to lack of realism and aggressiveness in U.S. policy toward the Soviet Union. At present this is a policy of pathological anti-Sovietism, and clear intention of achieving military advantage regardless of the price. At the base of the Reagan administration's policy is its uniwllingness to agree to the fact that the Soviet Union is a power that has its rights and duties in world politics and that dialogue is only possible on the principle of equal rights, balance of force, and equal security.

On this anniversary, it is strongly underscored in Moscow that the Soviet Union wants to build its relations with the United States regardless of the present state of affairs, but on permanent principles, taking into account mutual interests and the significance of these relations for world peace, especially in the period of nuclear arms.

MANESCU MEETS AUSTRIAN PRESIDENT KIRCHSCHLAEGER

AU171939 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1843 GMT 17 Nov 83

[Text] Vienna, AGERPRES. 17/11/1983 -- Messages of salute were exchanged between President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania and Elena Ceausescu and Federal President Rudolf Kirchschlaeger of Austria and Mme Herma Kirchschlaeger when the federal president received Manea Manescu, vice-president of the State Council of Romania, who attends the Vienna meeting on the promotion of peace, international economic cooperation and development.

During the interview, the federal president of Austria recalled the meetings he had with Romania's president both in Bucharest and in Vienna, during the summit visits and highlighted the particular significance of those actions for the further development of the fine, manysided relations between the two countries. Rudolf Kirchschlaeger noted with great satisfaction President Nicolae Ceausescu's permanent concern for the ascending course of the relations between Romania and Austria, between the Romanian and Austrian peoples. The Austrian head of state also brought to the fore the particular significance of the persevering and constructive initiatives and activities taken by Romania's president towards disarmament, peace and understanding, international cooperation and collaboration, the resolution of the problems which confront mankind at present.

MAURITANIAN PRESIDENT ARRIVES, MEETS CEAUSESCU

AU171934 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1850 GMT 17 Nov 83

[Excerpts] Bucharest, AGERPRES 17/11/1983 -- On Thursday, November 17, Lieutenant-Colonel Mohamed Khouna Ould Haydala, chairman of the Military Committee for National Salvation, president of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, arrived in Bucharest for an official visit of friendship at the invitation of Romania's president Nicolae Ceausescu.

The arrival ceremony took place at the Otopeni airport, where the distinguished guest was warmly welcomed by President Nicolae Ceausescu, by members of the Romanian Government, by other officials.

The Mauritanian head of state introduced to president Nicolae Ceausescu the officials accompanying him on his visit: Lieutenant-Colonel Anne Amadou Baba Ly, member of the Military Committee for National Salvation, minister of industry, and mines; Major Ahmed Ould Minnih, member of the Military Committee for National Salvation, minister of foreign affairs and cooperation; Captain Mohamed Lemine Ould N'diayane [spelling as received] member of the Military Committee for National Salvation, deputy minister of fisheries and marine economy; Ahmed Ould Zain, minister of plan and territorial development; Mohamed Fadel Ould Dah [spelling as received] minister of water and energy; other officials.

Numerous Bucharesters at the airport warmly welcomed the distinguished guest.

After the ceremony, to the applause and ovations of those present, the two heads of state headed for the official guest house, where they conversed in a cordial atmosphere.

Thursday in the afternoon, the chairman of the Military Committee for National Salvation and president of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, Lt-Col Mohamed Khouna Ould Haydala, paid a formal call on the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu. In the framework, the two presidents exchanged opinions on bilateral and international questions of mutual interest.

The interview passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere of full respect and mutual under-understanding.

Talks Followed by Dinner

AU172130 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 17 Nov 83

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Lieutenant Colonel Mohamed Khouna Ould Haydala, chairman of the Military Committee for National Salvation and head of state of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, started official talks today at the Palace of the State Council. The talks were attended by Romanian and Mauritanian officials.

President Nicolae Ceausescu expressed satisfaction at the Mauritanian guest's visit and extended to him friendly greetings on behalf of the State Council, the government, and the Romanian people, wishing him welcome to our country. In his turn, President Mohamed Khouna Ould Haydala warmly greeted President Nicolae Ceausescu and the Romanian people and expressed warm thanks for the hospitality extended to him. He said that this is an expression of the sentiments of friendship, esteem, and respect nurtured for each other by the Romanian and Mauritanian people.

During the talks, the two presidents examined the state of bilateral Romanian-Mauritanian relations and prospects for their further development. They concluded that the level of economic relations is still too low, considering the opportunities available to both countries, and expressed the conviction that the current visit and summit talks in Bucharest mark an important point in developing and deversifying these relations. They stressed that the economies of the two countries offer opportunities to expand the framework of mutually advantageous cooperation in fishing, naval construction and repairs, geology, mining, industrial processing, technical assistance, and other fields of mutual interest. They also pointed to the good prospects for developing active cooperation in education, technology, health care, and other fields.

Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Mohamed Khouna Ould Haydala instructed the members of the two delegations participating in the talks to discuss in detail, during the visit, concrete ways and means to speedily utilize these opportunities. In this respect, they agreed to establish a concrete working program with fixed deadlines in order to identify and clarify all problems connected with the development of broad and mutually advantageous advantageous cooperation.

The two sides assessed that the expansion and deepening of economic, scientific-technical, and cultural cooperation is in accordance with the interests of the two countries and peoples for independent progress and development and also makes a concrete contribution to promoting a climate of peace, understanding, and broad cooperation in the world.

The talks are proceeding in a cordial atmosphere of friendship and mutal understanding

The first day of the Mauritanian delegation's visit concluded with an official dinner given by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, in honor of Lt-Col Mohamed Khouna Ould Haydala, chairman of the Military Committee for National Salvation and head of state of the Islamic Republic of Maruitania. The dinner, which proceeded in a warm and friendly atmosphere, was attended by Romanian and Mauritanian officials. The two heads of state made toasts during the dinner. The national anthems of the two countries were played.

CEAUSESCU SPEECH AT RCP CC PLENUM 15 NOV

AU152050 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 15 Nov 83

[Report on Speech by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu at the Conclusion of the 14-15 November RCP Central Committee Plenum, on 15 November in Bucharest, With Recorded Portions]

[Text] [Begin Ceausesscu recording]

Esteemed Comrades, the Central Committee plenum unanimously adopted the uniform national plan for socioeconomic development in 1984 and several very important programs of measures to improve overall activities and unflinchingly implement the decisions of the 12th congress and the national conference on building the comprehensively developed socialist society and ensuring Romania's progress toward communism.

On the basis of results attained in the first 10 months of this year, one can assess that the 1983 plan will be commendably fulfilled, by attaining an approximately 5 percent industrial growth rate. Certain positve results were also attained in the economic indexes, but since this issue has already been discussed at the plenum and was included in the plenum report, I do not wish to dwell upon it.

In agriculture, under conditions of this year's drought, we obtained satisfactory production in general, although not up to our potential. Other sectors of activity were also developed. One can state that scientific research has played a very important part this year in improving overall activities and in the great achievements.

In view of overall achievements in 1983, one can assert that, by firmly implementing the decisions of the national conference and overcoming certain difficulties in the first 2 years of the current 5-year plan, we succeeded in scoring important results in the entire socioeconomic activity and creating necessary prerequisites for better fullfilling the 1981-85 5-year plan.

On this basis, we could also proceed to adopt measures on further raising all the working people's living standard, thus again demonstrating that the increase in the well-being of all the people is directly connected with unswervingly fulfilling socioeconomic development programs, raising economic efficiency in all fields, and continuously increasing the national income, the sure base of the overall development of the fatherland and of the increase in the overall prosperity of the people.

Therefore Comrades, we can state that with the results attained thus far, we have ensured all the conditions for implementing the national conference decisions on socioeconomic development in the current 5-year plan and thus fulfilling the provisions of the 12th party congress on attaining a new quality of work and proceeding to a new development stage of our fatherland.

Dear Comrades, as you note from the materials presented to you, the 1984 plan provides for an important increase in industrial and agricultural production and in all other sectors of our economy. The plan provides for growth rates of more than 10 percent in certain economic branches. Several countries referred at this plenum to growth rates of 12, 13, and even 14 percent, both in respect of industrial production and of other basic plan indexes. One must state that the plan provisions rely upon the existence of the technical material base and manpower and that these growth rates are in full accordance with the realities and capacity of our national economy. [end recording]

Stressing that drafting of the 1984 plan took into account the need to implement decisions of the 12th congress on rationally distributing industry and other branches throughout the country and appropriately developing agriculture, the party secretary general said that improvements were made to these decisions, and measures were envisaged for countries with certain arrears in the first years of the 5-year plan in order to recover them. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed the importance of developing the small-scale industry and services, in accordance with the people's requirements. He stressed the importance of attaining the planned agricultural production, by utilizing existing resources, a key prerequisite for implementing the self-management and self-supply program.

The speech paid particular attention to the need to reduce material and energy consumption and observe established consumption norms. The party secretary general said that all counties and economic units should work to fulfill the energy and raw material program. He stressed the importance of appropriately utilizing coal power plants. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out the importance of fulfilling the programs to recover the reuse raw and other materials, parts, and sub-assemblies, programs that have a great impact upon reducing production costs. The party secretary general then said:

[Begin recording] Comrades, it is therefore necessary, proceeding from all discussed here, to firmly work to unswervingly implement the programs and decisions on questions concerning energy, raw materials, and the reduction of material and energy consumption. We must consider the stipulations included in the plans and programs a minimum concerning the reduction of consumption. We must further work to identify new ways to cut back on consumption.

The plan and the other program lay particular emphasis on raising the quality of production, improving the technical level, and better utilizing raw materials. In this respect, the program, which was discussed and unanimously endorsed by the plenum, must be considered one of the most important ones for implementing the 12th congress decisions on attaining a new quality in all fields of activity. We have invested quite a lot; we even took loans for this. It is now necessary to produce goods, at a qualitative technical level that is at least equal to the world level.

The program we adopted a short whole ago includes all these measures. We even plan to be always ahead of the competition, by a few percentage points, and to turn out even better products than at the world level; only thus can we compete abroad, become involved in the struggle for a new scientific-technical revolution, and always be competitive on world markets.

This program must be understood as a general guideline. It follows that we must always improve upon it and correct it every year so that it reaches higher stages; only thus can our socialist society prove its force and capacity and stay in step with the latest achievements in the world. Only thus can we demonstrate the force and capacity of the working people -- in their capacity as owners, producers, end-users, and masters in their own country -- to better administer and lead the country's affairs then the capitalists. And we must do this.

The plan also pays particular attention to problems of labor productivity. We have recently adopted a special program in this respect. Here too there is great room for improvement. We have the appropriate technical equipment, we have a workers class with appropriate experience, and we have engineers and technicians capable of ensuring a modern organization of labor and production and a considerable increase in labor productivity.

It is well understood by each of us and by all of our people that labor productivity is also a decisive aspect in implementing the party program, for building a superior socialist society, and for building communism.

The growth rates envisaged for 1984 must be viewed as minimum rates, as must the program provisions up to 1985-90 in general. In this respect, too, we have to act each year to seek new ways and means to improve our activity and to increase labor productivity more and more forcefully. [end recording]

[Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu then stressed the importance developing on increasing economic efficiency in all fields, reducing material consumption and production costs and eliminating any kind of waste and, in this context, he asked the working people's council, the ministries' leadership, and financial bodies to ensure a more forceful increase in profitability and in efficiency.

Stressing that solution of the problems he discussed in the first part of his speech are essential for fulfilling the 1984 and the 1985 plans, the party secretary general spoke extensively on the preparations made for the future development of agriculture. He stressed that in 1984 an important increase must be achieved in vegetable and animal production.

The results of 1983 -- a difficult agricultural year owing to a long drought -- have shown that where good work has been performed and when agricultural science has been applied, good crops have been achieved, which demonstrates the possibilities and reserves still available. Stressing that it is necessary for us to continue toward a highly productive agriculture, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said: [begin recording]

[Next year the problem of grains will continue to be of primary importance. We have, indeed, carried out fall sowing. We still have to complete plowing for next spring. I hope that each one has realized how very important it is and why it is necessary for us to complete all plowing activity and to perform in-depth plowing under favorable conditions.

I think I am not exaggerating if I say that had we not completely finished fall plowing, we would not have been able to achieve half of this year's crops. We must now determinedly proceed to prepare the other operations for spring sowing. We must organize the plots of land so that they are used in an appropriate manner, we must organize the land areas as has been established and, in particular, we must carry out (?furrow) irrigation on all lands sown to corn and on all hoeing lands. All this must be prepared now.

Apart from plowing, we must carry out in the fall and winter all works that are decisive for achieving good crops in 1984. I can by no means be satisfied with the production achieved as regards industrial plants. You have good seeds available, you have proper know-how, and we do have certain results; however, on the whole, we cannot be satisfied. In this respect, too, we must take all necessary measures to ensure everything that is necessary to achieve positive outputs in all industrial plants, in vegetable growing, wine and fruit growing. [end recording]

Continuing his speech, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed that the secondary crop -- a field in which positive experience has been gained -- must be viewed as compulsory when firmly applying the laws on the use of land and on organizing agricultural land.

In the animal breeding sector, where results have been recorded demonstrating real possibilities in this sector, action shall be taken to continue to increase livestock, to ensure envisaged weights in order to increase animal production.

Special activity must be devoted to implementing the provisions of the national program on irrigation and drainage and on combating soil erosion. At the same time, special care must be taken to distribute crops better and to organize and use plots of land properly.

Referring to the investment plan, the party secretary general emphasized the need to execute and commission new production capacities on schedule, so that the overall economic activity proceeds according to provisions.

At the same time, special attention must be paid to the maintenance of equipment and to the timely performance of good quality repairs, and especially capital repairs. It is also necessary to take measures aimed at improving operations in transportation so that all transportation means are loaded to full capacity, thus cutting back on material consumption and on energy and fuel consumption. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu then said:

[Begin recording] Important tasks devolve next year on scientific research. We have a comprehensive program for each branch and sector, including targets that must be finalized and put into production; and including the new research targets that have to be begun. The problem of achieving a new quality of the technical standard, of making better use of resources and the problem of labor productivity are closely linked to raising the overall research activity onto a higher level. In this respect, too, we have enough forces available; we have experience, we have institutes, and we have everything that is necessary for Romanian research to be able to fulfill its highly responsible tasks and to engage with all its forces in implementing the programs envisaged to constantly place Romania -- as regards a number of products -- among the first ranks of the scientific-technical revolution. This is true for both for industry and agriculture, and for all sectors of activity.

Our education must accordingly engage with more determination in research work, too, and at the same time, continue to pay more attention to the level of training cadres and specialists, and to programs for perfecting and training cadres for reassignment. We must understand well that all the programs we have discussed are also linked to an appropriate level of education and to the constant elevation of the professional, technical, and scientific level of the workers, technicians, and engineers, and of all working people in all sectors of activity.

As you have been able to note from all the material we have discussed, we propose that in 1984 there be a radical improvement of activity in all sectors. This requires also the further improvement of the leadership, increased responsibility on the part of the leadership cadres, and it requires stricter order and discipline in all fields.

We must apply with greater determination the new economic mechanism that will lead to a stronger increase in material incentives for the working people and to a closer link between all working people and the fulfillment of the production plan and to the proper management of the means entrusted to them as owners, producers and end users.

This year we have adopted a number of measures in this respect. We must, however, firmly proceed to implementing them. Each party and state activist, irrespective of the work he performs, must act with greater responsibility toward general interests and toward the interests of all people; let us do all we can so that our party and state bodies will fulfill the tasks devolving upon them in all fields under good conditions.

Once again I want to repeat: A decisive role is played now by the organizational and management work in implementing all decisions. It is necessary -- in applying the new economic mechanism -- to act to constantly strengthen our national currency so as to preserve the stability of prices, both industrial prices and those of consumer goods.

As a matter of fact, you have been able to note that for the next year we have envisaged no increase in prices -- neither in industry nor in consumer goods. [end recording]

Referring to the importance of maintaining control over prices, the party secretary general stressed that in fact the new economic mechanism presupposes the achievement of a stable balance of the national economy and of the national currency compared to other currencies.

In this respect, the plan stresses the important role played by foreign trade and international cooperation. To promote efficient foreign trade, special attention must be paid to fulfilling export production, in terms of quality and the technical level required by the partners abroad.

As for production sharing, we must develop this activity with the CEMA countries, with all socialist countries, with the developing countries, and the developed capitalist countries in a spirit of equity and mutual advantage. Referring to measures aimed at increasing remuneration and improving the living standard of all our people -- measures that have been adopted this year and which will be applied in 1984 as well -- Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed the need to act with great determination to implement them closely in keeping with the socioeconomic development programs.

An increase in incomes, however, cannot be achieved without increasing production, profits, and economic efficiency. The speaker stressed that any kind of profiteering must be eliminated, as well as any activity in trade that is a grave violation of the country's laws.

As for the program on the people's self-supply, the speaker stressed that the implementation of that program's provisions is closely linked to the fulfillment of the industry and agriculture plan and to increasing production and economic efficiency. For this purpose, the party organizations and bodies must act and show a constant concern for improving their work style and increasing their responsibility and discipline.

Likewise, the managements of ministries should work responsibly to operatively resolve the complex problems of socioeconomic development. The speech also deals with the need to increase the role of working people's councils, general meetings, and all the people in implementing the party-state domestic and foreign policy. In the fulfillment of all tasks, it is necessary to further increase the role of party bodies and organizations and assert the leading role of the party in all fields, so as to raise our country onto higher peaks of progress and civilization, ensure the people's well-being, and continuously strengthen the country's independence and sovereignty.

In conclusion, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said:

[Begin recording] The Central Committee has recently undertaken a number of actions in order to halt the arms race, particularly the deployment of intermediate-range missiles in Europe, and to proceed to withdrawing and scrapping the existing ones. We believe that, in the spirit of the consistent orientation of our international activity, the Central Committee and the Government must take further steps and do everything possible to contribute to preventing the aggravation of the international situation and the deployment of new missiles and promoting a new international policy based on equality, respect for independence and sovereignty, and noninterference in domestic affairs.

There is no problem more important now than that of disarmament and peace and of ensuring the vital right of peoples to life, freedom, and peace. There are many problems in international life; we have often discussed them. However, they are all subordinated in the last instance to this vital desideratum of mankind and all peoples. Hence, we must do everything possible along these lines.

If we secure peace and halt the arms race, then we will win a great victory and will create conditions for proceeding to resolving other complex international problems.

Of course, this does not mean that we should postpone the solution of other problems until we resolve this vital one; naturally, we must work to resolve other problems, too, in the spirit of our well-known position. However, I reiterate, the main thing is to halt the arms race and ensure peace, since the future of all mankind, including Romania's future, depends on this. Therefore, together with all of mankind, we should do everything possible for peace. [loud applause]

Esteemed Comrades, on 1 December we shall be marking the 65th anniversary of the creation of the united national Romanian state, an event of decisive historical significance for the destiny of all our people. Let us meet this event with ever better results in all fields. We have adopted the 1984 plan and the programs for the current and future period. Let us work in such a way as to make sure that in 1984 we obtain outstanding results in all fields, thus meeting the 40th anniversary of the victory of the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation with great achievements, demonstrating the force and capacity of the Romanian people to build a new, socialist and communist life. [applause]

We will also be holding our 13th party congress in 1984. We must take all measures to prepare and meet the congress with the best possible results in fulfilling the 1984 plan, so that each county and unit meets the congress with ever greater achievements in all fields. In the short period left until the end of this year, let us work in such a way as to thoroughly prepare the next year and proceed to fulfilling the 1984 plan by commendably fulfilling the 1983 plan in all fields. I believe that if we commendably fulfill this year's plan, we will lay a sound foundation for next year and the entire 5-year plan; we will thus be able to meet the 40th anniversary of the revolution for social and national liberation and the 13th party congress with outstanding results in all fields.

I am convinced that the entire Central Committee, all party bodies, the Government, all state bodies, all working people, regardless of nationality, and all the people will act in full unity to attain all these goals. [applause]

With this conviction, Comrades I declare the plenary proceedings closed, and I wish all party organizations, working people, and all the people ever greater successes, much health and happiness. [loud applause] [end recording]

CPC PROPAGANDA AKTIVISTS CONCLUDE VISIT

AU171935 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1900 GMT 17 Nov 83

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 17/11/1983 -- Over November 3-17, 1983, a delegation of aktivists of the Chinese Communist Party, led by Liao Jingdan, counsellor of the propaganda section of the CC of the Chinese Communist Party, paid a visit to Romania for an exchange of experience. The guests conducted talks at the headquarters of the CC of the RCP, the Council of Socialist Culture and Education, central party and state institutions as well as the Iasi and Suceava County Committees of the RCP. They also visited industrial and farming units and social and cultural institutions in Bucharest and in counties.

At the end of their visit, the delegation were received by Petru Enache, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

SOFIA CHARGED WITH 'BLURRING TRUTH' ON MACEDONIA

AU171648 [Editorial Report] Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian on 13 November on page 2 carries a 1,000-word commentary by Bosko Nacevski entitled "Balancing With History" reviewing the recently published brochure of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences entitled "The Autonomy Idea as a Tactic in the Program of the National Liberation Movement in Macedonia and the Edirne Region 1893-1941." According to Nacevski, this pamphlet from the "rich treasury of anti-Macedonian materials" represents yet another "attack on the individuality of the Macedonian people and their national history. This, however, is not particularly surprising to anyone who follows with some attention the activities of the publishing laboratory of that scientific institution of Sofia, for, judging by its contents, this brochure does no service to scientific truth and even less to historical justice. With this publication or, more precisely, with this latest propaganda maneuver, Sofia is essentially confirming its orientation of provocations and falsifications, which are the main rule of Bulgarian contemporary historiography in relation to Macedonia, in the service of its current policy." Noting that the pamphlet also "doubts the legality of the formation of the independent Macedonian national state, which voluntarily entered into a federation with other peoples of Yugoslavia," Nacevski concludes that the "historians of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences are increasingly openly and recklessly using the 'arguments' of bourgeois historiography."

According to Nacevski, the aforementioned brochure especially emphasizes that the "Macedonian state is an artificial creation" and that the people living in the SR of Macedonia are 'Bulgarians' or, more precisely, 'Macedonian Bulgarians.'" "Striving to be more consistent and convincing in falsifying the 'facts,' the author of the brochure, who undoubtedly expresses the official views of the highest leaders of our eastern neighbors, invokes allegedly newly-discovered 'evidence' and 'testimony' that confirm the Bulgarian character of Macedonia, the Macedonian people, and events of their national history," including the Kresna-Razlovci and Ilinden uprisings and the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization.

Nacevski goes on to say that, according to the interpretations currently prevalent in Sofia and presented in the latest pamphlet of the Bulgarian Academy of Science, Sofia has accepted the idea of autonomy of Bulgarians in Macedonia, under the force of certain political circumstances, as a way to preserve the integrity of Macedonia and as a stage on the way to the unification of the Bulgarian people. The pamphlet claims that Bulgaria entered four liberation wars and experienced as many 'national catastrophes' to realize that ideal. What should be "a cause for concern even for any well-meaning Bulgarian reader" in this connection is the fact that "Sofia is trying to blur the truth about the 'Bulgarian tragedies,' the persecution of the Macedonian population in Bulgaria in the period between the two wars, the denationalizing processes in the country, its fascist transformation, and the role of its army in World War II," Nacevski says. He especially reproaches the Bulgarian author for "glorifying the pro-Bulgarian mission of some traitors of the Macedonian people, such as Todor Aleksandrov, Vanco Mihajlov, Djuzelov, Ckatrov, and Kitincev," on some of whom the people's court of Macedonia passed the highest sentences because of their crimes as collaborators with the Bulgarian occupiers.

It is hardly necessary to mention, Nacevski points out, that the "scientific balancing act of the Bulgarian historians is known to the scientific communities" in other countries. The tailoring of facts is a well cultivated skill of the Sofia scientific circles. But one basic thing must not be forgotten in this connection: "There is only one step from negating a people who are an equal and constituent part of the Yugoslav Federation to making territorial claims to a part of Yugoslavia," he says.

"With these activities Bulgaria is creating additional obstacles that obviously hinder the efforts to strengthen the stability of the Balkans. And this is happening at a time when the democratic public of Europe is demanding concrete measures to strengthen peace, security, and confidence among peoples and when the Balkan countries are making stronger proposals than ever before to transform this region into a zone free from nuclear weapons, in which peace, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations will be strengthened," Nacevski concludes.

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian on 14 November on page six carries on 800-word report by M. Krstic on the above NOVA MAKEDONIJA commentary.

DAILY ATTACKS GREEK VIEWS ON MACEDONIA QUESTION

AU170921 [Editorial Report] Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian on 8 November on page five carries a 1,400-word report from Athens by its permanent correspondent Zlatko Blajer on Greek press comments and articles on Yugoslav-Greek relations. "It is no news," Blajer says, "that the climate of steadily developing Yugoslav-Greek relations does not suit certain circles in Greece. The slanders, falsifications, and alarms about the 'threat from the North' used by the rightist press in escalating its campaign against our country prior to, during, and especially after the recent visit of Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, too, are not new." However, if all this can be understandably expected from the mouthpieces of the Greek rightist forces, "it is disconcerting to see that distortions are used as 'arguments' by a newspaper that enjoys the reputation of respecting objectivity and professional ethics," Blajer says referring to the Athens newspaper TA NEA, which is close to the Panhellenic Socialist Movement, and which, on 29 October, carried an article entitled "Arrows and Thorns With Yugoslavia" in connection with Milka Planinc's visit to Greece.

Devoting a major part of his report to reviewing the aforementioned TA NEA article, Blajer particularly notes TA NEA's view that the traditional ""'very good'" or even ""'excellent'" ""'strange arrows that are usually fired because of Skopje's insistence on the existence of a Madedonian minority'" and that, at present, it is felt that "the relations between the two countries 'have entered a period of tension because of Yugoslavia's constant references to the question which is known as the Macedonian question.'" In this connection TA NEA emphasizes, Blajer reports, that ""'no Greek Government can understand how Belgrade can let itself be led by Skopje on matters of foreign policy, which causes problems in the otherwise excellent Greek-Yugoslav relations.'"

Commenting on this statement by TA NEA, Blajer says that "this time the 'arrow' has assumed the role of a wedge which has been used already for a long time to divide Yugoslavia's foreign policy into 'that followed by Belgrade,' that is, the entire Yugoslavia, and 'Skopje's positions,' a formulation that is used regularly to avoid any reference to the SR of Macedonia." In this connection it must be pointed out, Blajer continues, that "Yugoslavia is obliged under its Constitution to concern itself with the national minorities of its peoples in other countries and that, when it is a matter of respecting the Constitution, there cannot be two or more policies." Blajer further takes TA NEA to task for "forgetting the first priority of journalism, that is, truthfulness" by claiming that both the Yugoslav and Greek press agencies omitted to report that passage of Milka Planinc's toast at the formal dinner given by Andre Papandreou during her visit in which, as TA NEA says, she ""'indirectly but clearly referred to the so-called Macedonians because this reference certainly disturbed the Greek side.'" This is not true at all, Blajer points out, in regard to the Yugoslav press and TANJUG because, "a day and a half after the formal dinner, the entire Yugoslav daily press published a partly summarized text of Milka Planinc's toast supplied by TANJUG which included the integral text of the passage involved."

Noting TA NEA's listing of the "'open questions'" which, according to it, Yugoslavia views as obstacles to a further advancement of relations between the two countries, Blajer asks "why, in the interest of complete reporting, TA NEA does not report the fact that the Greek authorities continue to refuse entry permits to a certain category of Yugoslav citizens (as well as to their spouses, children, and grandchildren) only because they were born in Greece." According to Blajer, "the Greek press is very careful to keep these facts from its public and therefore it is not surprising that a large majority of Greek people believe that, for instance, it is Yugoslavia that is disinclined to abolishing the visas between two countries and that the reports that the Greek entry visas are refused to Aegean Macedonians are a Yugoslav fabrication." However, there are in Greece also some "newspapers that have the professional courage and honesty to express different views," Blajer concludes his comments on the TA NEA article and cites as an example a passage from the 8 October SOSIALISTIKI ALAGI article entitled "Support for the Slav Macedonian Political Refugees" which demands that the "'former Slav Macedonian partisans be unconditionally allowed to return'" to Greece.

MOJSOV SPEECH AT FEDERAL CHAMBER SESSION

LD171505 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0856 GMT 17 Nov 83

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Nov (TANJUG) -- Lazar Mojsov, federal secretary for foreign affairs, spoke at today's session of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly. Mojsov briefed the delegates on the present international political and economic situation and on Yugoslavia's international position.

Addressing the delegates, Mojsov said:

"Comrade President, comrade delegates,

For a long time now, both in this house and in our other high-level political bodies, we have been stressing the great concern we share with the majority of careful and objective observers of present world events over the constant deterioration of the international situation, and pointing to the growing danger which is threatening, to an increasing extent, the fundamental trends of international cooperation and world peace and security. Meanwhile, not only has there been no improvement in the world situation but we are faced by a dramatic increase and strengthening of crises in the world's political and economic relations in recent times. In fact, what is happening today in international relations bears all the hallmarks of the situation which in the past we called the cold war. The entire world has become the stage for this "cold", and very often "hot," war, and its victims are most often the small and medium-sized nonaligned developing countries, on whose territory and at whose expense the global contest for domination, influence and reallocation of spheres of interest takes place. The underlying causes of this situation lie in the social, political and economic contradictions of the modern world. The immediate reasons for the present negative development should be sought in the increasing bloc rivalry, the spread of the concept and strategy of predominant military might and the use of force, and the abandonment of the policy of detente and peaceful solutions to the world's problems. The increasingly frequent resort to interventions and interference in the internal affairs of other countries, the standstill in the solving of the existing conflicts and crisis spots, their further exacerbation and the creation of new conflict situations, the vertiginous arms race, the constant deepening of the international economic crisis and the dramatic deterioration in the position of the development countries have inevitably led to the high level of tension and the threats to peace and security in the world. It is a very lamentable fact that as a reuslt of this there has at the same time come about a disruption and paralysis of almost all channels of international negotiation and agreement-reaching, which is the only acceptable way to solve the acute world problems.

The heightened tension which has emerged in relations between the USSR and the United States over the installation of medium-range missiles in Europe and the introduction of new weapons systems brings in a new and dangerous dimension to already aggravated international relations. The talks in Geneva between the United States and USSR are yielding no results and the countdown has already begun to the moment when a series of already announced measures and countermoves will be taken. If no compromise way out of the present so-called missile crisis is found at the last moment, a further exacerbation of relations between the United States and the USSR and their blocs will ensue and, instead of the (?sought) balance in arms at an increasingly low level there will follow an acceleration in the introduction of new, increasingly destructive and diverse weapons and the expansion of nuclear arms to these areas. This would further deepen the existing mistrust between the superpowers and hamper their negotiations, which will have to continue under more difficult circumstances because any other alternative which might replace this necessary negotiating would take the world to the brink of war. The present level of arms is already too high and the number of conflicts too great for the world to be able to bear the sort of tension that currently exists for any length of time. The tension is already such that even isolated incidental situations, of which we have seen a few recently, can cause the most serious consequences.

It is a source of encouragement, however, that at the same time as the international situation has been developing in this negative direction, resistance has been growing to the politics of relying on the force of arms, and that there are increasingly vociferous demands for a halt to this senseless and very dangerous arms race. In addition to the nonaligned countries, which seek and actively work for the urgent surmounting of the present situation and the construction of new bases for international security, many governments within military and political alliances, political parties, social organizations, public figures and many movements for peace, disarmament and the independence of nations which are appearing in more and more countries are also expressing their concern over and disapproval of resorting readily to the use of force, the bourgeoning arms race and the installation of all kinds of missiles. With full justification they are seeking essential results in all current disarmament talks, particularly those between the United States and the USSR in Geneva, as the first step toward establishing the trust and cooperation necessary for reducing world tension.

As it has done in the past, our country supports all proposals and initiatives in this direction. As a nonaligned country, situated between two military and political blocs that are constantly raising the level of their armaments around us, we are vitally interested in any international agreement that would lead to real disarmament and contribute to the building of trust and the renewal of the process of detente in Europe and the world.

For this reason, at present we attach greatest importance to the forthcoming Stockholm conference on measures aimed at achieving trust, security and disarmament in Europe, where there is the greatest concentration of all kinds of weapons and increasing tension -- tension which, as we see, is spilling over into other regions of the world. At the same time, in today's circumstances this is an occasion to retain and restimulate dialogue in this important sphere. This would have a positive effect on the creation of a more favorable atmosphere in Europe and further afield. We believe that in Stockholm, as was the case in Madrid, the group of nonaligned and neutral countries, together with other participating states, should play a positive and constructive role.

Comrades, for many years now we have seen increased bloc rivalry and the politics of force and spheres of interest constantly stoking and fanning crisis spots and expanding the regions of increased tension. Each of the existing crises, from the Near East and Middle East, southern Africa and the Mediterranean to Central America and southeast Asia, in conditions of increasing the interdependence of everything that happens in the world, is a constant threat to world peace and security.

Now we are directly faced with an escalation of the Cyprus crisis. The unilateral declaration of independence by the northern part of Cyprus and the attempt to legalize the division of Cyrpus leads, particularly against the background of the present worsening international situation, to a further increase in instability and a threat to peace and security in the Mediterranean and the world. The United Nations and the Security Council, who are responsible for solving the Cyprus problem, should take urgent action to annul this unilateral decision and to create the conditions for a peaceful and mutually acceptable solution by means of negotiation between the two Cyprus communities on the basis of the Security Council decisions and those of the UN General Assembly and the principles of the Nonaligned Movement, in order to preserve the sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity, independence and nonalignment of the Republic of Cyprus.

Latest developments of the situation in the Middle East, the increased presence and interference of foreign factors, the continuation of aggressive actions and threats by Israel and the increasing concentration of arms and armed forces in this region are a direct threat to world peace fraught with unforeseeable consequences. We are following with great concern the armed attacks of PLO forces in northern Lebanon and the internal clashes in this country, which combined with foreign occupation and interference, threaten Lebanon's sovereignty and territorial integrity and its very survival as an independent state. Over the last few days our highest state and political bodies, guided by the serious nature of the situation, have been examining and issuing statements on the development of the situation in the Middle East. We are in favor of a peaceful, substantive, comprehensive and lasting solution to this crisis, realization of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people led by the PLO as the independent and sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, cessation of armed attacks on the PLO, an end to fratricidal conflicts in Lebanon and, in particular, we appeal to the Arab countries to contribute to the realization of these goals in a unified manner. Along with other nonaligned countries, we are taking steps in this direction. Indira Gandhi, prime minister of India and chairwoman of the Nonaligned Movement, has convened a meeting of the Committee of Nonaligned Countries on Palestine, which was formed at the seventh nonaligned summit. At this ministerial level meeting, which will begin in Delhi tomorrow and in which we are taking part, concrete possibilities will be examined for the nonaligned countries to contribute to ending the hostilities, and especially armed attacks on the PLO and its legitimately elected leadership, and a call will be made for a peaceful solution to the conflict and for the preservation and strengthening of the PLO as an inescapable factor in a lasting and just solution to the Mideast conflict.

The situation in this part of the world is made even more dangerous and complex by the continuation, and even flaring-up, of the tragic war between Iraq and Iran because the Iraq-Iran battlefield is part of the geostrategically sensitive Mideast region where the economic and political interests of the superpowers inertwine. The spread of hostilities between the warring sides could lead to increasing involvement from outside and threatens to make this war encompass the Gulf region which is of exceptional importance to overall relations in the world. The conflict between the two nonaligned countries, which are friendly with us, has done great harm not only to each of the countries concerned but also to the entire nonaligned movement.

We shall continue to support all initiatives in efforts toward a peaceful solution, especially from Prime Minister Gandhi, whom the nonaligned countries authorized at the Delhi summit in her capacity as chairwoman of the movement to take measures to contribute to ending this unfortunate war.

In southern Africa tension is also growing over the increasingly aggressive actions of South Africa which, in defiance of UN decisions and playing the card of bloc interests, continues its policy of racism, apartheid, the illegal occupation of Namibia and armed attacks on its neighboring countries in order to destabilize the frontline countries and quell all resistance to this policy. The attacks on Angola and Mozambique bear the hallmarks of real military campaigns.

Among the numerous crises hampering the world today we must deal in particular with the crisis in Central America and the Caribbean, bearing in mind the recent armed intervention in Grenada, which further exacerbated the situation and clearly showed how fragile peace, security, and the independence of countries in this region are. Foreign interference and pressures hamper the processes of emancipation for countries in this part of the world, which is engulfed in deep social and economic fermentation and conflicts. The military intervention in Grenada, which the United Nations saw as a flagrant violation of independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, has met with the broadest possible condemnation in world public opinion and here as an unacceptable and impermissible case of the use of force against an independent country. The world must not reconcile itself to the spread and application of various doctrines which attempt to justify interventions in zones which the superpowers proclaim their spheres of interests or regions of alleged vital interest to their security. The flaring up of the existing crisis spots and the opening up of new ones indicate that the use of crises and war conflicts, which are largely to be found in the areas of the nonaligned and developing countries, is becoming the dominant form of global rivalry in the struggle for supremacy and domination in the world. As world peace and the independence of many countries and nations are thereby also seriously threatened, we must involve the enter international community in solving all crisis situations on the basis of the UN Charter and respect for the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the right of every nation to decide independently, without interference or pressures from outside, the paths of its own development. For this reason Yugoslavia will, as in the past, together with the other nonaligned countries and on the platform of the New Delhi conference, lend full support to countries and nations whose freedom and independence are threatened and make a constructive contribution to the just resolution of the crises.

Comrade delegates,

The critical situation in the world economy and the prevailing international economic and financial relations is an integral part of the general deterioration in the international economic and financial relations is an integral part of the general deterioration in the international situation. The problems of economic crisis and recession, inflation, low growth rates, overindebtedness, protectionism, and great unemployment are becoming increasingly acute and have assumed global proportions. The consequences of the crisis which has gripped all aspects of the world economy and of international economic relations to a greater or lesser degree do not bypass a single country, regardless of its size, degree of development, or social system, but it is precisely the nonaligned countries and developing countries that are most threatened. Because of increasingly grave and exacerbated conditions many countries are not able to pay their debts or their interest, or if they do so then only at the expense of immense sacrifices and a great outflow of their national income, and some of them even face financial ruin. The worsening of the economic situation in the majority of developing countries reflects negatively on the development, equality, and independence of these countries and exacerbates their social problems and contradictions. Unfortunately, leading developed countries and international financial institutions, as has been, after all, demonstrated also at the sixth UNCTAD session, do not show either enough understanding or readiness to take measures to improve the difficult position of developing countries or to begin global negotiations within UN frameworks.

The revival of economies of some developed countries, no matter how useful for world economic trends, does not provide grounds to assert that their consequences will inevitably reflect positively also on the revival of economies of developing countries and, therefore, according to this thesis of the developed countries, it is not necessary to take any other special measures to improve the position of underdeveloped countries.

However, we believe it is necessary to take urgent measures to overcome the present situation in international economic relations and to have the developing countries emerge from their difficulties.

In advocating urgent measures, we are aware of the fact that lasting solutions can only be found on the basis of structural changes and gradual development of a new international economic order based on equitable cooperation and on respect for the interests for all countries. Unfortunately, the sixth UNCTAD session, held in Belgrade this summer, did not make the hoped-for contribution to this. However, the adoption by consensus of several significant resolutions, the participation of a notable number of prominent statesmen and personalities, the meaningful general debate and the exchange of views have contributed to perserving the conditions for reviving dialogue and negotiations, both of which have been stagnating for some time. However, it has been demonstrated once again that the most developed countries are not prepared to make any significant concessions from their acquired privileged positions because they proceed in a short-sighted manner from their selfish interests. At the New York meeting of heads of state or government, the attention was paid to the world economic situation. Our impression is that some statesmen from the developed countries present at the meeting demonstrated readiness for a move forward with regard to questions of North-South relations and that this would be used to encourage dialogue in this sphere.

The basis for our further action in international economic relations reains the program adopted in New Delhi and the platform adopted in Buenos Aires. We shall continue to work for global negotiations, for solving all acute problems in North-South relations and for gradual development of a new international economic order. To this end and in the present economic and political conditions, mutual economic cooperation between developing countries assumes even more significance. We are able to note that this cooperation is entering a stage of more specific involvement in implementing projects and cooperation programs adopted at the Delhi conference, at the meeting in Caracas and at other meetings of nonaligned and developing countries.

Comrades, Yugoslavia and the nonaligned countries have constantly sounded a warning about where and to what dangers the world is being led by the constant exacerbation of bloc confrontation, and by worsening of the international situation because urgent political and economic problems are not being resolved and because the basic principles of the UN charter are being trampled underfoot. All the more so, because the nonaligned and other developing countries are affected most by such unfavorable developments. In addition to iternal problems and difficulties, which are largely the result of the colonial heritage and a direct consequence of inequitable international relations based on economic and military power, the nonaligned countries are exposed to the exacerbated and tense circumstances in the world and to intensified pressures aimed at diverting them from their basic orientation and inducing them to comply with the interests of bloc policy.

Despite all this, the nonaligned countries, taken as a whole, have succeeded in preserving their nonaligned orientation and their role in resolving international problems. They are the only ones that have succeeded in formulating a complete program and platform that offers a way out from the crisis of relations in which the world has found itself. Even countries and political forces that have disputed this for years now recognize and even accept this. In April this year I spoke at length in this house about the results and conclusions of the Seventh Conference of Nonaligned Countries in New Delhi. The development of the international situation following the Delhi conference has fully demonstrated the topicality of the conference's conclusions and the significance of the message from New Delhi addressed to the international community community, but primarily to the great powers. It is in this direction that the nonaligned countries are guiding their actions and initiatives toward finding solutions to the existing crisis in international relations and influencing the blocs behavior to a positive change and greater respect fot the interests of the broader international community. They are now working, in particularly, toward preserving the bridges of cooperation and reviving communication in international relations.

In the past 8 months, following the Delhi conference, the Nonaligned Movement has set initiatives in motion, even in the most difficult international conditions, to contribute to finding solutions to major world problems.

The meeting of 24 heads of state or government from all continents at the 38th UN General Assembly session, the initiator of which was Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, on the basis of the mandate given to her by the Seventh Nonaligned Summit and which was also attended by Comrade Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, was of special significance if one bears in mind the atmosphere of tense international relations and the absence of a dialogue between the two great powers. The United Nations showed itself to be an appropriate venue for such a gathering. The meeting gave a significant incentive to the preservation and development of dialogue and agreement-reaching on questions of peace, disarmament, and economic development. We hope that to this end and on the basis of the readiness demonstrated in New York to maintain the continuity of the dialogue, similar meetings on an even broader basis will take place, and our country will give full support for this.

Allow me to point out here several other significant activities of nonaligned countries in the recent past.

At the ministerial meeting of nonaligned countries in New York priorities and joint attitudes toward most important issues on the agenda of the 38th UN General Assembly session were coordinated. At the initiative of the nonaligned the question of Namibia was discussed at the Security Council, and thus a significant step forward has been made toward returning this acute problem to the UN for resolution.

In the efforts to overcome the crisis in Central America and the Caribbean, several meetings of the Coordination Bureau of the nonaligned countries extended full support to the peace efforts of the Contadora Group and to the independence of Nicaragua. Nonaligned countries have submitted several proposals in the sphere of disarmament, which will continue to be at the center of their attention and activities. They have set in train several initiatives to reestablish the North-South dialogue and to resolve the most important issues of internarnational economic problems.

At the CSCE session in Madrid, as I have already said, the group of nonaligned and neutral countries of Europe has played an active and very positive role in coordinating and adopting the final document.

Comrade delegates,

The international position achived by Yugoslavia in its postwar development, because of its consistent domestic and foreign policy, the construction of socialism and socialist democracy on the basis of self-management, equality of nations and nationalalties, and the policy of nonalignment, its resolute readiness to defend the achievements gained, have brought it general respect and friends throughout the world. This, at times when international conditions have not been easy, has made it possible for our working people and citizens to build their country in peace and freedom. Though the present state of international political and economic relations also reflects unfavorably on Yugoslavia's position and contributes to our economic difficulties, the position reached by our country enables us today too to concentrate our forces on the resolution of our present problems and on the consistent realization of the long-term economic stabilization program.

Of course, we must not take such a situation for granted and must take note of all future developments of international activity and do everything possible to preserve our position on the established and in practice tested and proved foundations of our independent and nonaligned policy.